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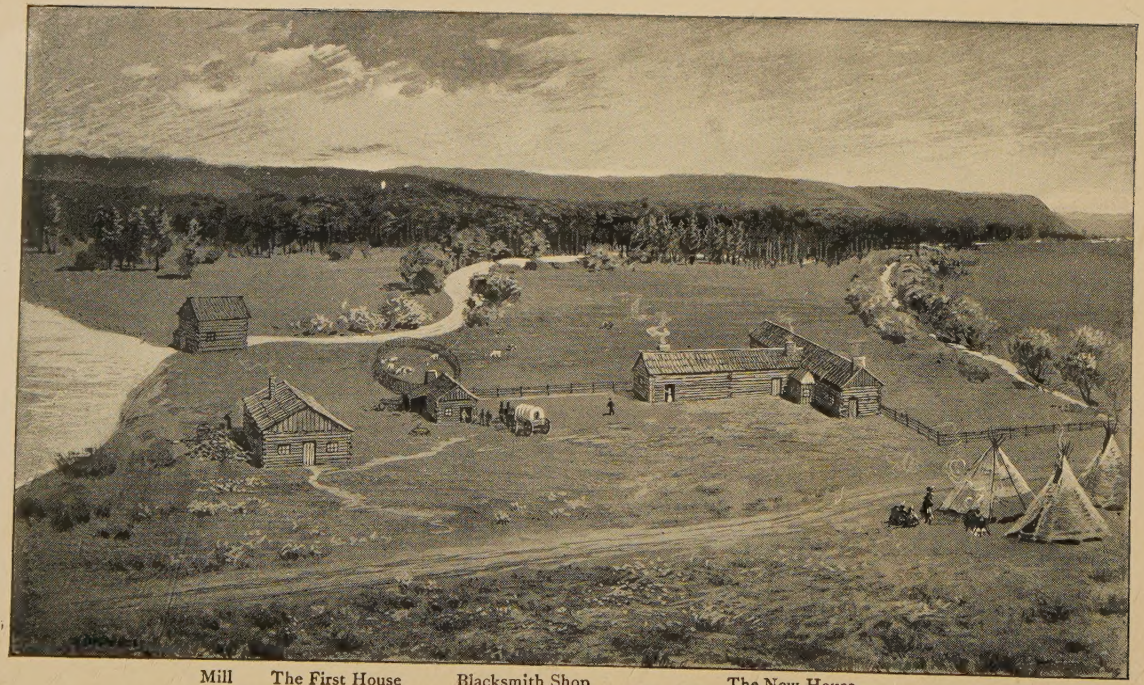

Mill The First House Blacksmith Shop The New House

WHITMAN'S HOME AT WAIILATPU

MARCUS WHITMAN

AND

THE EARLY DAYS OF OREGON

BY

WILLIAM A. MOWRY, PH.D.

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ILLUSTRATED

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"Do nations float darkling down the stream of the ages without hope or consolation, swaying with every wind and ignorant whither they are drifting? Or is there a superior intelligence and love, which is moved by justice and shapes their courses?"

GEORGE BANCROFT.

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PREFACE

THIS book was like "Topsy." It was not born;—it grew. It grew because it could not help growing. More than twenty-five years ago I first learned of the heroic labors and the tragic death of Dr. Marcus Whitman. I was at that time making a careful and critical study of the early history of "The Oregon Country," and was especially interested in our controversy with Great Britain concerning it. Having completed my study of the negotiations between the two governments which ended in the treaty of 1846, I turned my attention to the story of Dr. Whitman.

I was soon confronted with those who refused to credit the accounts of his patriotic heroism, and who did not believe that he was entitled to foremost recognition as the savior of Oregon to the United States. I determined to go to the bottom of the question, and for a little more than twenty years I have pursued these investigations and have read everything I could lay my hands upon relating to the subject. I have visited Oregon, Washington, and California, stood before the great grave where Whitman was buried, and walked the halls of Whitman College in Walla Walla. I have talked with many leading men of that country, Dr. Cushing Eells; Mr. William H. Gray, author of a history of Oregon, with whom I visited the rooms of the American Board, inspecting their archives and reading and copying letters to and from Whitman, Spalding, Eells, Walker, Gray, and others, covering the entire period from 1836 to 1848; Dr. Anderson, president of Whitman Col-

lege; Judge Deady of Portland, Dr. Atkinson of Portland, and many others. With Dr. Atkinson I went over the whole subject. Dr. William Barrows, who wrote the history of Oregon in the Commonwealth Series, was consulted, and every phase of the entire subject was discussed, years before his history appeared.

On another page I have given a list of books and pamphlets, including only a part of those read and consulted by me, most of which I have in my library.

The longer I studied the subject, the clearer grew the light pointing directly to Dr. Whitman as the man who saved "The Oregon" to the United States. The evidence of his far-sighted policy and his patriotic purpose is conclusive. The letters written by him and his coworkers in the mission field, which by the courtesy of the officers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions I have copied for the purpose, throw great light upon the events herein portrayed. These, with other valuable material, will be found in the appendix.

All honor to the early American pioneer settlers in that country, as beautiful, as picturesque, and as fertile as any on the globe; a country with as fine a climate, as varied productions, and now occupied by a people as thrifty, as enterprising, and as intelligent as can be found anywhere in the world. But the first and highest honor should be awarded by the people of Oregon and of the United States to the memory of that Christian patriot, that heroic missionary, Marcus Whitman. Braving the cold and the snows of the Rocky Mountains, he crossed the continent on horseback to warn our government at Washington and to encourage the hardy pioneers of the frontier to emigrate to Oregon, assuring them that they could carry their wagons and their families through to the Columbia, for he had gone there himself with his wife and his wagon.

The story of his tragic end is sad in the extreme. But always and everywhere, in all ages and all climes, "the

blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Oregon and Washington are to-day reaping the rich fruits of his life, his heroism, and his untimely death.

This book is a history. It is not an embellished story like Irving's *Astoria* or Parkman's *Oregon Trail*. It is written with the single purpose of stating in a clear and concise manner the important facts with which it has to deal. From first to last it has to do with facts. I believe it tells the truth, and that posterity will confirm the conclusions here arrived at. I commend the story to the good people of our republic and especially to the friends of Christian missions, in the hope that it will stimulate them to give honor to the memory of Dr. Marcus Whitman, and that it will encourage them to the possession and practice of all heroic, patriotic, and Christian virtues.

WILLIAM A. MOWRY.

HYDE PARK, MASSACHUSETTS.
January, 1901.

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A LIST OF SOME OF THE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND PAPERS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS WORK

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DUNN'S *History of Oregon.*
MARBOIS'S *History of Louisiana.*
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FARNHAM'S *Travels in the Great Western Prairies.*
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NIXON'S *Life of Whitman.*

RICHARD RUSH'S *Residence at the Court of London.* 1st Series, Philadelphia, 1833. 2d Series, London, 1845.

The Archives of the A. B. C. F. M., from which many letters and extracts of letters, written at the time of these occurrences, have been copied.

Various newspaper articles, from the *Astorian*, *Oregonian*, *Walla Walla Watchman*, *Boston Journal*, New York *Evangelist*, *Alta Californian*, New York *Independent*, Chicago *Advance*, and others.

Various publications of the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society.

MARCUS WHITMAN

AND THE EARLY DAYS OF OREGON

INTRODUCTION

OUR CLAIMS TO THE OREGON COUNTRY

UNTIL near the end of the eighteenth century the Oregon country was *terra incognita.* It became interesting to the nations of Europe through a vague rumor that somewhere upon its coast entered the Strait of Anian, which would furnish a passage from the Pacific Ocean through to the Hudson Bay, or elsewhere to the Atlantic. Its principal river was discovered by an enterprising New England navigator, Captain Robert Gray, who sailed up into the country in 1792 and took possession in the name of the United States of America. Then it was neglected and apparently forgotten. Great Britain, having secured a joint occupancy, set herself sedulously at work to get entire control of the country, and labored to that end for nearly thirty years. At one time, our government ignored the country as worthless and was not unwilling to sell it for a mess of pottage. At another time, came the cry "Fifty-Four-Forty or Fight"; but after the watchword had accomplished its purpose by elect-

ing a president, that president with his own hand signed a treaty giving to England all north of the forty-ninth parallel.

Great Britain took possession of the Oregon country in 1814, but a few years later we obliged her formally to restore it to us. Finally the savages were permitted to butcher in cold blood the man who, by bravery and patriotism utterly unprecedented, wrested that entire country from the grasp of the Hudson's Bay Company, and made it possible for the United States to hold it. Then after his assassination, Congress published at the expense of the nation a partisan report, calculated to shield guilty parties and to throw the odium of the butchery upon our own people, who were utterly innocent of the charges laid against them. Such is history. But out of all these strange chapters a good Providence has delivered us, and has now made of that remarkable section a powerful and valuable coterie of states, intensely loyal and in the highest degree serviceable to the great American Republic.

The difficulty which was anticipated in maintaining the federal authority over so extended an area has not been realized. One of our leading political newspapers, in all seriousness, objected to the government's retaining Oregon, because the mileage of members of Congress from that distant section, should it ever become a state, would impoverish the country.[1]

The southern boundary of Oregon was fixed at latitude 42° by the treaty of Florida in 1819. By that treaty Spain ceded to our government whatever right she had previously possessed to the Oregon territory. The northern boundary was determined by the Buchanan-Pakenham treaty of 1846, in which Great

[1] See *Providence Journal* of July 24, 1843.

Britain and the United States agreed on latitude 49° as the boundary line between this country and the British possessions, from the Rocky Mountains to the Strait of De Fuca, and thence through the middle of the strait to the Pacific Ocean. This finally fixed the limits of the Oregon country as extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and from latitude 42° to latitude 49° north.

The history of our controversy with Great Britain upon this subject is peculiar and stands without precedent in several important respects. Prior to 1818, although Great Britain had laid some claim to the country, no definite negotiations had been undertaken between the governments with reference to the settlement of their conflicting claims.

During that year, however, our ministers plenipotentiary, Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, carried on extensive communications upon this subject with the British commissioners, Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson. It was agreed by these gentlemen, in a convention dated October 20, 1818, and ratified by the governments January 30, 1819, as follows:

"any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall . . . be free and open for the term of ten years from this date to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties in that respect being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."[1]

The foregoing is the third article of the convention

[1] *U. S. Treaties and Conventions*, p. 351.

mentioned above. It was signed by Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush on the part of the United States, and by Frederick John Robinson and Henry Goulburn on the part of Great Britain.

It is worth our while to observe what were the claims put forth by our ministers, and what counter-claims were set up by the British commissioners at this early stage of the negotiations.

Messrs. Rush and Gallatin did not assert at this time that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that its claim was at least good as against Great Britain.

The grounds of our claims to the country were:

1. The discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray in 1792.

2. The first exploration from the sources to the mouth of the river, by Lewis and Clark in 1805.

3. The formation of the first establishment in the country by American citizens, viz., the planting of the colony of Astoria in 1811. Richard Rush said: "Astoria had, incontestably, been the first permanent settlement." [1]

On the other hand, the English commissioners made this claim:

"Former voyages, and principally that of Captain Cook, gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery, and they alluded to purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American Revolution. They did not make any formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of the river in common with the United States." [2]

[1] Rush, *Residence at the Court of London*, 1st series, p. 406.
[2] *Ibid.*

In reply to this, we may here remark that Captain Cook saw no part of this coast south of latitude 57° which had not been explored by the Spanish long before his voyage; and that, however proper that argument may have been in 1818, yet when we had a little later purchased all the rights of Spain to this territory, the case stood quite differently.

No further negotiations took place between our government and that of Great Britain until 1824. Before proceeding to an account of these negotiations, let us consider somewhat in detail the history of our connection with the northwest coast prior to this period.

Our first claim to Oregon was based on the right of discovery.

Captain Robert Gray sailed from Boston on the 30th of September, 1787, in the sloop *Washington*. He carried with him sea-letters issued by the Federal Government, agreeably to resolutions of Congress (this being prior to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States), and passports from the State of Massachusetts. In August, 1788, his vessel ran aground upon a bar near the 46th degree of north latitude on the Pacific coast, while endeavoring to enter an opening which undoubtedly was the mouth of the Columbia River.

In a subsequent voyage in the ship *Columbia*, Captain Gray fell in with the British navigator Vancouver, on April 29, 1792. Vancouver was desirous to receive from Gray all possible information with reference to this coast, especially concerning the Strait of De Fuca, which he was intending to examine. Captain Gray went on board Vancouver's vessel and gave him all the information he could, and among other things informed him that he had discovered the mouth of a river in

latitude 46° 10′, where the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering it for many days. Vancouver denied the existence of any river emptying into the Pacific at or near that latitude. He had sailed along the coast and was positive that there was no such river. Gray, after leaving him, sailed back to the mouth of the river and on the 11th of May, with all sails set, ran his vessel over the bar and anchored " in a large river of fresh water, ten miles above its mouth." Here he remained three days, trading with the Indians and filling his casks with water, and then sailed up the river twelve or fifteen miles along its northern shore. During the week which followed, he made several attempts to quit the river, but was constantly baffled until May 20th, when he crossed the bar at the mouth, beating over it with a westerly wind, and so regained the Pacific.[1]

Our second ground for claiming Oregon was the fact that our government followed up the discovery by making the first exploration of this territory in 1805 and 1806, the expedition being under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clark of the United States Army.

The importance of the great country west of the Mississippi, extending over the mountains and to the Pacific Ocean, began to be thought of before the purchase of Louisiana. President Jefferson proposed to Congress, in January, 1803, in a confidential message, that measures be at once taken to explore this territory. It is not a little singular that Captains Lewis and Clark should have been commissioned to undertake this important exploration, *only a few days previous to the arrival of the vessel which brought from*

[1] Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, p. 236.

France the news of the purchase by the United States of the whole of the Louisiana territory. It has frequently been assumed that this exploration by Lewis and Clark was a direct result of the Louisiana Purchase. This, however, was not the case. The exploration was planned by President Jefferson before he had any expectation of purchasing the valley of the Missouri. It was planned just as any of the other great explorations were planned, such as the Wilkes exploration or the Perry expedition to Japan.

The instructions were to explore the Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and thence crossing the mountains, to trace some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce."

In May, 1804, Lewis and Clark, with less than fifty men, began their ascent of the Missouri. They arrived, in October, in the country of the Mandan Indians, where they remained till the following spring. This winter's rendezvous was near the 48th degree of latitude and more than fifteen hundred miles from their starting place.

In April, 1805, these bold leaders pushed forward with only about thirty men, the others having been sent back to St. Louis. They explored the country and the rivers beyond the "Great Falls of the Missouri," and before the end of July they had passed the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains." The place of their crossing the watershed was near the source of that branch of the Yellowstone which they named Jefferson Fork, near the 44th parallel of latitude. They were now about three thousand miles from the mouth

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of the Missouri. Here they went over the divide and by means of Indian guides found the Kooskooskie River, down which they passed to the Columbia, thence down that river to the coast.

They reached the mouth of the Columbia about the middle of November, and remained through the winter on the west side of Young's Bay, on the south side of the river. They broke camp on the 23d of March, 1806, and commenced the ascent of the Columbia. They examined critically the country bordering upon the Columbia and its principal tributaries, and then, having ascended to its upper branches, they divided into two bands. Lewis and a portion of the men crossed over the mountains from the more northern section of the Clark River, approaching the country of the Missouri near the head waters of the river Maria, a little above the 47th parallel.

Captain Clark, after leaving Lewis, pushed on to the south with the rest of the party, and crossed the mountains near the very source of the Clark River, retraced his steps down the Jefferson Fork, and joined Lewis and his men at the mouth of the Yellowstone about the middle of August. The whole body arrived at St. Louis on the 23d of September, 1806, having completed an overland journey of about nine thousand miles in a little over twenty-eight months, the entire return trip of over four thousand miles having been performed in just six months. This is one of the longest, most difficult, and most important overland journeys of governmental explorations ever made.

The journal of this expedition was prepared substantially by Captain Clark, but was not published till 1814. The most careful observations were made respecting geographical, commercial, and political facts,

and some of the adventures of the party read like the most thrilling stories of romance.

By this expedition our government announced to the world its intention to occupy and settle the vast countries explored, to which "no other nation," says Greenhow, "except Spain, could advance so strong a claim on the grounds of discovery or contiguity; and the government and people of the United States thus virtually incurred the obligation to prosecute and carry into fulfilment the great ends for which the labors of Lewis and Clark were the first preparatory measures."[1]

Our third ground for claiming Oregon was on account of having made the first permanent settlement within its limits.

This settlement was made in 1811 by a company of fur traders, sent out by John Jacob Astor of New York. In September, 1810, Astor despatched from New York the ship *Tonquin*, carrying twenty guns and sixty men, under command of Captain Thorn, lieutenant in the United States Navy. This vessel arrived at the mouth of the Columbia on the 22d of March, 1811. The party on board landed many miles up the river, found the natives friendly, built a fort, erected a house, store and other buildings, and named the place, in honor of the chief patron, Astoria.

When Captain Thorn sailed away he left thirty men in possession of the place, to await the arrival of an overland party, also sent by Mr. Astor. This overland company, under the chief agent, Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, consisted of about sixty men who started early in 1811. After untold hardships, a part of the company arrived at Astoria on the 18th of January, 1812.

Mr. Astor also sent out another vessel, the *Beaver*,

[1] Greenhow, p. 288.

of twenty guns, which sailed from New York in October, 1811, with sixty or seventy men, and arrived at the Columbia in May, 1812. For some time this company, which was incorporated under the name of "The Pacific Fur Company," carried on fur trading with considerable success. It established trading posts in the interior far up the northern branch, or Clark's River, as well as up the southern branch, or Lewis's River.

The undertaking was in general bold, sagacious, and patriotic, and might well be considered as promising success; but it was finally overthrown by a singular chain of circumstances. It is surprising that a man of the well-known business sagacity and shrewdness of John Jacob Astor should have made such blunders as characterized his plans for this far-off fur trading enterprise.

Mr. Astor had traded somewhat in furs with the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal, and in 1810, or possibly as early as 1809, having determined to establish a similar company in Oregon, he offered a third interest in his new enterprise to this old-established British company of Montreal. It, however, desired the whole loaf and not a third, and consequently refused the offer.

This was Mr. Astor's first mistake,—especially when the critical condition of the country in 1810 is considered. Mr. Astor should certainly have been far-sighted enough to anticipate trouble from any joint business enterprise with subjects of Great Britain, at that particular period when war was imminent.

Had he been American born, it is possible this might have appeared to him. But, being a native of Germany, living in America, and finding much of his

most profitable trade with England, he seems not to have anticipated any international prejudices or difficulties. This is further apparent in his selecting as partners to manage the business at Astoria several British subjects from Canada, who had been and were then in the employment of the Montreal company. These men were Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, and Alexander McKay. As the sequel will show, this was his second mistake. He subsequently admitted as partners David and Robert Stuart, and Ramsey Crooks, Scotchmen, who also had been in the service of the Northwest Company; and Wilson Price Hunt, John Clarke, and Robert MacLellan, citizens of the United States. McKay, McDougal, David Stuart, and Robert Stuart, with about thirty employees, all British subjects, sailed on the *Tonquin*, in September, 1810. In the January following, under the direction of Mr. Hunt, MacLellan, McKenzie, and Crooks set out overland with a large party, by way of the Missouri River.

The Northwest Company, meanwhile, was not idle. Soon after the departure of Mr. Astor's company by the way of Cape Horn, it despatched a party overland, with the evident intention of preoccupying the ground. This party, directed by Mr. David Thompson, pushed forward with all speed and penetrated the Rocky Mountains in the fall of 1810. Obstacles and difficulties compelled a portion of the company to return, while the remainder wintered in the mountains, and made their way down the Columbia in the summer of 1811. They arrived at Astoria on the 15th day of July, and were hospitably received and entertained by their old friends and associates, now Mr. Astor's partners.

This expedition was the occasion for the British

government to put forth in 1826, through their commissioners, Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, the following claim. Having alluded to our claim by reason of "the discovery of the sources of the Columbia and the exploration from its source to the sea by Lewis and Clark in 1805–06," they add:

"In reply to this assertion, Great Britain affirms and can distinctly prove that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her Northwest Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thompson, already established their posts among the Flathead and Kootamie tribes, on the head waters of the northern or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down that river. It was from these posts that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811 at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thompson hastened thither, descending the river, to ascertain the nature of that establishment." [1]

The phrase, "if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years," is especially indefinite and meaningless.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was made in 1805–06. Astoria was occupied and settled in March, 1811, while Mr. Thompson and his party were blockaded by the snows in the Rocky Mountains, near the head waters of the Columbia River in latitude 52°; and he and his party did not arrive among the Kootamie and Flatheads until some months after the settlement of Astoria.

The war between our country and Great Britain, which was threatening when the *Tonquin* sailed from New York in 1810, began in 1812. The news of it traversed the broad continent and reached Astoria in January, 1813. After frequent interviews with the

[1] British statement in documents accompanying President Adams's Message to Congress, December 12, 1827.

agents of the Northwest Company, who were invariably treated with great kindness and courtesy by Mr. McDougal and his associates, the latter, in October, 1813, signed an agreement by which the whole enterprise — all the "establishments, furs, and stock in hand" of Mr. Astor's Pacific Company, in the country of the Columbia—was sold to the Northwest Company for about fifty-eight thousand dollars. This was done by the partners at Astoria, all of whom were British subjects, without any authority from or consultation with Mr. Astor, to whom really the whole establishment belonged. Mr. Hunt had been placed in charge as agent by Mr. Astor, but, at the time of this sale, he was absent at the Sandwich Islands, having left Mr. McDougal sub-agent in charge during his absence.

We have mentioned two mistakes made by Mr. Astor, and we now see the unfortunate results of those errors.

We have seen that in 1811 Mr. Astor sent out another ship, the *Beaver*, with a cargo and sixty or seventy men, which arrived at Astoria in May, 1812. Mr. Astor's plan was to despatch a vessel annually, but the war with Great Britain prevented his sending one in 1812. Early in 1813 he sent out the *Lark*, which was wrecked at the Sandwich Islands and became a total loss.

Here the officers found Mr. Hunt awaiting an opportunity to return to Astoria. He immediately procured an American vessel and sailed for the Columbia. On his arrival the treachery of McDougal was only too apparent. The sale had been effected, the transfer made, and the Northwest Company was in possession. The so-called sale of the entire establishment with all the property and merchandise on hand, as has already

been stated, was for the sum of $58,000, of which McDougal retained $14,000 for wages said to be due some of the men. Mr. Hunt, on his arrival at Astoria on the 28th of February, 1814, found Mr. McDougal in charge as partner of the Northwest Company, into which he had been admitted.

"I estimated," said Mr. Astor, "the whole property to be worth nearer two hundred thousand dollars than forty thousand dollars, about the sum I received in bills on Montreal."[1] This terminated Mr. Astor's speculation in furs on the Oregon coast.

"Of the persons who had been attached to the Pacific Fur Company's establishments, some were murdered by the Indians on Lewis River, in the summer of 1813; some, including Mr. Franchère, the author of the narrative of the expedition, returned overland to the United States, or to Canada, and some remained on the banks of the Columbia, in the service of the Northwest Company."[2]

The Northwest Company, as has plainly appeared already, was jealous of Mr. Astor's Pacific Fur Company. It had requested government aid from Great Britain to contend with its American rivals, but as the two countries were then at peace the government declined to assist. However, when war had been declared, the opportunity presented itself.

Soon after the beginning of the war, a frigate called the *Phœbe* and two sloops of war, the *Raccoon* and the *Cherub*, were sent from England with orders to proceed to the Columbia River and capture the American settlement. On their arrival at Rio de Janeiro, the

[1] See letter to the U. S. Secretary of State from John Jacob Astor in Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, pp. 439–442.

[2] Greenhow, p. 304.

orders were modified. Admiral Dickson directed the frigate and one of the sloops to pursue the United States sloop *Essex*, Captain Porter; and the sloop *Raccoon*, under command of Captain Black, was to proceed to the Columbia alone, where it arrived on the 1st of December, 1813.

Imagine the feelings of Captain Black, of his Britannic Majesty's Royal Navy, as he sailed into the mouth of the Columbia River. He had been nearly a year on his voyage. He had crossed more than a hundred degrees of latitude in his journey southward, and returned northward an equal distance; while his destination was more than 120° of longitude west of his starting place. This extended voyage must have been more than sixteen thousand miles in length. The strength and importance of the fort had been magnified. Captain Black expected a severe struggle to capture it, but he was confident of success. He had solaced himself, during that long and monotonous voyage twice across the torrid zone, and while enduring the privations of a winter's passage around Cape Horn, with the reflection that after a sharp contest, he should win a decisive victory over the Yankees, and capture this important and strongly fortified place in the name of his royal sovereign. And in addition to the honor that would accrue to him from the success of so difficult and hazardous an undertaking, he would be in possession of a noble prize, securing for himself and his men enormous wealth from the rich furs and stores accumulated during several seasons. Welcome, then, must have been the sound of "Land ho!" to his ears, as he approached the end of his journey.

But imagine, if you can, his surprise as he sailed into

the river and looked about with his glass for the fort he was to capture, to find only a small wooden fortification with palisades around it. In bitter astonishment he exclaimed: "Is this the Yankee fort about which I have heard so much? Zounds! but I 'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder."[1]

Surprises came not singly to this redoubtable Captain Black. On a more careful examination with his glass of this insignificant fort, he observed that the flag floating from the tall mast within the enclosure was not the Stars and Stripes, but his own familiar flag, the Cross of St. George.

When he had landed and was informed by McDougal, who was in chief command at the fort, that the entire establishment had been purchased by the Northwest Company, he could scarcely overcome his incredulity and free his mind from the fear that the whole story was a miserable Yankee trick, shrewdly planned to cheat him and his crew out of their coveted reward. Indeed, he could not rest satisfied, and he compelled Mr. McDougal to give him an inventory of his entire stock of furs and all other property said to have been purchased from the American company.

He then went through the ceremony of taking possession of the fort in the name of King George the Third. Alexander Ross says:

"They laughed heartily at their own disappointment, for they had made up their minds that the capture of Astoria would yield them a rich prize; but in place of a golden egg they found only an empty shell. . . . On the 12th day of December Captain Black went through the customary ceremony of taking possession not only of Astoria, but of the 'whole country.' What the vague term of 'whole country' in the present case meant, I know not. Does it

[1] See John Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia.*

mean the Columbia? Does it mean all the country west of the Rocky Mountains? Or does it mean merely the country of the Pacific?" [1]

The following incident in connection with this expedition of Captain Black is related by Ross Cox, in his narrative:

"The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and McTavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the *Raccoon*, which they quickly discovered to be one of 'King George's fighting ships,' they repaired, armed, to the fort, and requested an audience with Mr. McDougal.

"He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Comcomly, the principal chief of the Chinooks (whose daughter McDougal had married) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that as they (the Americans) were the first white men who settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able, with their guns and arrows, to shoot all the men who should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that admitted of no doubt of its sincerity.

"Two armed boats from the *Raccoon* were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy.

"Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer,

[1] Alexander Ross, *Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River*, p. 259. London, 1849.

and added that, notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their hunting shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer, but on assuring them in the most positive way that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes, for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flagstaff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that, however we might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

But this little expedition did not end here. It had consequences depending upon it. Captain Black sailed away in his sloop of war, *Raccoon*, and returned home to England, again crossing the equator, sailing through the straits of Magellan and again over the whole breadth of the torrid zone, and finally hailing once more, after an absence of about twenty months, the welcome shore of fatherland. What report he gave of his extended trip to capture the Yankee fort is not told in the annals of the war.

The contest between the two countries had closed. A treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, on the 21st of December, 1814. That treaty contained no allusion to the northwest coast of America. The transfer of the Pacific Company's establishments at Astoria and on the Columbia, as well as the capture of this fort by the British, were unknown to the ministers plenipotentiary who signed the treaty.

Nevertheless, in the first article of that treaty was this provision:

"All territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after signing this treaty, excepting the islands hereinafter mentioned [in the Bay of Fundy] shall be restored without delay."

In accordance with this article, in September, 1817, Captain Biddle, commanding the sloop of war *Ontario*, and Mr. J. B. Provost were jointly commissioned to proceed in that vessel to the mouth of the Columbia and there "to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the adjacent country in a friendly and peaceable manner and without the employment of force." [1]

The British minister objected that "the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the Americans had retired from it under an agreement with the Northwest Company which had purchased their effects and had ever since retained peaceable possession of the coast"; also that "the territory was early taken possession of in his Majesty's name and had been since considered as forming part of his Majesty's dominions."

The subject occasioned serious discussions between the British Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, and the American Minister at London, Mr. Rush. It was finally agreed that the post should be restored to the Americans and that the question of the title should be subject to further negotiations.

Astoria was formally restored [2] to the United States

[1] Greenhow, p. 307; see President Monroe's Message to Congress, April 15, 1822.

[2] Observe how explicit is the statement in this paper containing the act of delivery: "We, the undersigned, do, in conformity with the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River."

on the 6th of October, 1818, by two papers signed and delivered, the one being the act of delivery presented by the British commissioners, and the other being the act of acceptance on the part of the American commissioners.[1] The British flag was then lowered and the Stars and Stripes hoisted in its stead over the fort, and saluted by the British frigate *Blossom*.

Little did Captain Black of the British sloop of war *Raccoon*, as he proudly sailed into the mouth of the Columbia River, on the 1st of December, 1813, with great expectations of a brilliant victory and a rich prize,—little did Captain Black then imagine that he was not only to be subject to a severe disappointment himself, but was also to be the occasion of so complicated a discussion and such important negotiations between the two countries. Another of his Majesty's sloops of war had to sail from England over that same long cruise of one hundred degrees of latitude southward and a hundred degrees northward, compassing a hundred and twenty degrees of longitude, to return what he had taken possession of with mere formalities.

We pass on to the year 1818. At this time a prolonged discussion took place between the two countries regarding their respective claims to the Pacific coast. The United States laid claim to all the Oregon country as against Great Britain, and the negotiation resulted in the convention for the joint occupancy, which has already been described.

Of this treaty Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in his *Thirty Years' View*,[2] says:

"A great fault of the treaty of 1818 was in admitting an organized and powerful portion of the British people to

[1] For full account of these transactions, see Greenhow, pp. 307 *et seq.*

[2] P. 428.

come into possession of our territories jointly with individual and disconnected possessions on our part. The Hudson's Bay Company held dominion there on the north of our territories. They were powerful in themselves, perfectly organized, protected by their government, united with it in policy, and controlling all the Indians from Canada and the Rocky Mountains out to the Pacific Ocean, and north to Baffin's Bay. This company was admitted by the convention of 1818, to a joint possession with us of all our territories on the Columbia River. The effect was soon seen. Their joint possession immediately became exclusive on the north bank of the river. Our fur traders were all driven from beyond the Rocky Mountains; then driven out of the Mountains; more than a thousand of them killed; forts were built; a chain of forts established to communicate with Canada and Hudson's Bay; settlers introduced, a colony planted; firm possession acquired; and at the end of the ten years when the joint possession was to cease, the intrusive possessors, protected by their government, refused to go—began to set up their title—and obtained a renewal of the convention, without limit of time, and until they shall receive notice to quit. . . .

"Another great fault in the convention was in admitting a claim on the part of Great Britain to any portion of these territories. Before that convention she stated no claim; but asked a favor — the favor of joint possession for ten years; now she sets up a title."

This is Mr. Benton's way of stating it. Let us hear how England viewed the matter.

Mr. Robert Greenhow, for many years the translator and librarian to the State Department at Washington, prepared in 1840 a *Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America*, which was "printed for the use of the Senate." In 1844 he published a volume of 482 pages, entitled *The History of Oregon and California, and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America*. This valuable work, which presented a critical examination of the facts of history, showed clearly that our government

had a just and a strong claim to the Oregon territory. To this work the British government felt it necessary to reply.

Two years later, early in 1846, and just before the final settlement between our government and Great Britain of the northern boundary of Oregon, there appeared in London an octavo volume of 391 pages, entitled *The Oregon Question Examined, in Respect to Facts and the Law of Nations*, prepared with great care and ability by a distinguished Englishman, Travers Twiss, D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford and Advocate in Doctors' Commons. This is a work of much ability, written with no little shrewdness, and designed to answer and neutralize the influence of Mr. Greenhow's book.

Dr. Twiss says: "The history of those negotiations shows that on each occasion the United States have increased their claims and reduced their concessions, while Great Britain has not only not increased her claims, but on the contrary has advanced in her concessions." [1]

Mr. Dunn, a former Hudson's Bay man, says in his preface:

"Up to 1814 they, the Americans, never claimed more than the right to joint occupancy,—that after the Florida treaty, they took a bolder tone, and claimed exclusive right,—that in 1827 they never ventured to claim beyond the 49th degree. But now they take a bolder tone still, and on the gambling principle of 'all or nothing,' claim up to the Russian frontier." [2]

Is it consistent with the uniform practice of Great Britain "not to increase her claim, but on the contrary

[1] Travers Twiss, p. 368.

[2] John Dunn, *History of the Oregon Territory*, p. v. London, 1844.

to advance in her concessions," when she feels assured that she has a good claim? Indeed, it hardly seems possible that Dr. Twiss and Mr. Dunn were not conscious that their very statements would naturally suggest to the unprejudiced reader that the grounds of England's claims could hardly have been tenable, else she would not have "advanced in her concessions."

Let us now state the grounds of our claim to this territory as presented by Mr. Rush in 1824, and by Mr. Gallatin in 1826.

In 1824 Mr. Rush claimed for the United States "in their own right and as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains from the 42d to at least as far as the 51st degree of north latitude."[1] He further said that, "in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of the coast, from latitude 42° to as far north as 60°, was superior to that of Great Britain or any other power; first, through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement; and secondly, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands all her title."[2]

It will be observed that even in 1824 Mr. Rush did not base our claim on the Louisiana Purchase.

It may not be without profit to quote more fully from Mr. Rush's views at this time. He claimed "exclusive possession and sovereignty . . . at least as far north as the fifty-first degree of latitude," which was then supposed to represent the northern limit of the waters of the Columbia. In support of this claim he cited the facts of:

[1] Rush, *Court of London*, 2d series, vol. ii., p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

1. "The first discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray."

2. "The first exploration of that river from its source to the sea by Lewis and Clark."

3. "The first settlement on its banks by the Pacific Fur Company . . . a settlement which was reduced by the arms of the British during the late war, but was formally surrendered up to the United States at the return of peace."

4. "The transfer by Spain to the United States of all her title to those territories, founded upon the well-known discoveries of her navigators."

He insisted, in obedience to express instructions from his government, "that no part of the American continent was to be open to colonization from Europe." Again he says:

"The claims of the United States above the 42d parallel as high up as 60 degrees — claim as well in their own right as by accession to the title of Spain — would henceforth necessarily preclude other nations from forming colonial establishments upon any part of the American continent." [1]

The arguments for our exclusive jurisdiction, as put forth in 1826, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The acquisition by the United States of the title of France through the Louisiana treaty, and the title of Spain through the Florida treaty.

2. The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia.

3. The first exploration of the country through which the river flows.

4. The establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens.

[1] Protocol of the twelfth conference between the plenipotentiaries, held June 26, 1824, among the documents annexed to President Adams's Message to Congress, January 31, 1826. Also Rush, 2d series, vol. ii., pp. 256 *et seq.*

5. The natural recognition of the title of the United States by the British government, in the restitution, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent, of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war.

6. Upon the ground of contiguity, which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power.[1]

Great Britain refused to settle the question, and rejected the proposition of compromising on the line of latitude 49°; and finally the convention of joint occupancy was renewed indefinitely, with the agreement of one year's notice by either party for the abrogation of the treaty.

This convention was signed August 6, 1827. The agreement held till 1846, when a treaty was negotiated by James Buchanan, Secretary of State under President Polk, and Richard Pakenham, the British minister. The boundary between that part of the country which should hereafter belong to the United States and the British possessions was fixed on the 49th degree of latitude from the Rocky Mountains "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of said channel and of Fuca's straits to the Pacific Ocean."[2]

In pressing our claims to Oregon upon the British government, no one ground was exclusively relied upon, but rather an aggregation of claims was presented and insisted upon. Which of these grounds shall be considered the strongest would not be of much import, were it not for the efforts of some

[1] Greenhow, pp. 347, 348.

[2] See *U. S. Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 375, 376. 1871.

writers, taking perhaps a partial view, to exaggerate one of them to the exclusion of the others. Unfortunately for accurate students of history, some prominent persons several years ago endeavored to confine our claims to this territory to the right derived from our purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803. As a matter of fact, this is the weakest ground of all.

We are under great obligations to General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census, for much valuable information in the volume on *Population* of the ninth census, relating to the history of the various sections of our territory.[1]

This information he subsequently expanded and published in his valuable *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, Part II. of which is devoted to "Memoirs and Discussions." This Part II. comprises four chapters, as follows: "The Political Divisions of the United States," with a map by S. W. Stocking; "The Minor Political Divisions of the United States," by S. A. Galpin; "The Progress of the Nation," by General Walker; and "Population," by E. B. Elliott. This probably gives more practical and valuable information in a condensed form in relation to the territorial accessions than could heretofore have been obtained.

It is, therefore, more to be regretted that these gentlemen, Walker and Stocking, should have fallen into so great an error as to represent Oregon as a part of Louisiana. It would seem that the map was prepared by Colonel Stocking without due care, and allowed by General Walker to be inserted in his census volume and subsequently in his atlas, without his giving

[1] See Volume on *Population*, ninth census, pp. 573–587, and map in connection.

THE OREGON COUNTRY
AFTER THE TREATY WITH
GREAT BRITAIN
1846
Occupied jointly by Great Britain and United States, 1818-1846.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Boundary to Rocky Mts. established 1818.
Boundary Line of 1846
DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
VANCOUVER I.
Strait of San Juan de Fuca
C. Flattery
Astoria
Ft. Vancouver
Columbia R.
Old Fort Walla Walla
Waillatpu
Willamette R.
Umpqua R.
Rogue R.
Klamath L.
Klamath R.
Pitt R.
Shasta
Sacramento R.
Snake R.
Salmon R.
Columbia R.
Kootenay R.
Flathead L.
Clarke R.
Marias R.
Jefferson R.
Missouri R.
Milk R.
Yellowstone R.
Big Horn R.
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
Yellowstone Lake
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
BOISÉ
Malheur L.
Owyhee R.
Fort Hall
Christmas Lake
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
COLUMBIA
COUNTRY
124
120
116
112
108
48
44
41

the subject that careful and critical attention which so important a step evidently demanded.

In a personal letter to Mr. John J. Anderson, General Walker said:

"My reason for embracing Oregon in the territory covered by the Louisiana Purchase, for the purposes of the map printed in connection with the reports of the Ninth Census, or, rather, for allowing the map which Colonel Stocking had prepared, to go into the work without correction in this particular, was, that the United States government, as I recall the negotiations, had made claim to Oregon by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase."

In another letter addressed to a prominent educator General Walker admitted the error, in these words: "I am free to confess that my individual views do not coincide therewith." Subsequently, however, General Walker wrote in substance that he felt sure the position he had taken was the true one, but he could not at that time state his reasons for it. He had forgotten about the matter. As late as 1883, General Walker published an article in *The Nation*, in which he still held that the Oregon country was a part of the Louisiana Purchase, and he quoted a legend upon the map of that country which was inserted in Marbois's *History of Louisiana*. Yet that very map shows that the Louisiana province did not extend beyond longitude 110°, which, at that time, was supposed to represent the general position of the Rocky Mountains.

It may be sufficient answer to quote from Marbois himself. In the English translation of his *History of Louisiana*, on pp. 285, 286, is the following:

"Is it not better for the United States to abide by a general stipulation, and since these territories are still at this day, for the most part, in the possession of the Indians, await future arrangements, or leave the matter for the treaty

stipulations that the United States may make with them and Spain? In granting Canada to the English, at the peace of 1763, we only extended the cession to the country that we possessed. It is, however, as a consequence of that treaty that England has occupied territory to the west as far as the great Northern Ocean. . . . It is in fact important not to introduce ambiguous clauses into treaties; however, the American plenipotentiaries made no objections, and if, in appearing to be resigned to these general terms through necessity, they considered them really preferable to more precise stipulations, it must be admitted that the event has justified their foresight. The shores of the Western Ocean were certainly not included in the cession, but the United States are already established there."

Following the lead of General Walker and Mr. Stocking, many writers have copied this valuable map and of course have copied the error regarding Oregon. But there is no foundation for the opinion that Oregon belonged to France, and could thus have been ceded to us as a part of Louisiana.

1. France never claimed beyond the Rocky Mountains.

In 1712, King Louis XIV. granted to Antoine Crozat the exclusive trade of the territory called Louisiana. This grant gives the earliest exposition of the limits of that region. In the grant the boundaries of the territory are described as follows:

". . . bounded by New Mexico and by those of the English in Carolina. The river St. Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the Staghorn to the Illinois, together with the river St. Philip, formerly called the Missouries River, and the St. Jerome, formerly called the Wabash [the Ohio] with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Louis."

This could by no possible construction include anything beyond the head waters of the Missouri. France

never afterwards claimed for herself beyond the Rocky Mountains.

2. Spain always claimed that Louisiana was limited by the Rocky Mountains.[1]

During all our negotiations with Spain in relation to Florida, which included a full discussion of our western boundaries, Spain never admitted for a moment that Louisiana extended beyond the mountains.

3. Neither Great Britain nor any British writers upon the subject ever allowed the claim that Louisiana extended west of the Rocky Mountains.

4. Until after the treaty of Florida in 1819, our government never claimed that our title was perfect.

Messrs. Gallatin and Rush in 1818, in reporting to their government, stated: "We did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that our claim was at least good against Great Britain." [2]

But after our purchase of Florida and the settlement of the boundary between our territory and the Spanish provinces at latitude 42° north,—that is, when we had purchased Florida, given up Texas to Spain, and she had ceded her right to Oregon to us,—then and not till then, did we set up a complete claim to that country.

In 1845 Secretary Buchanan asserted:

"Our own American title to the extent of the valley of the Columbia, resting, as it does, on discovery, exploration, and possession,—a possession acknowledged by a most solemn act by Great Britain herself, is a sufficient assurance against all mankind; whilst our superadded title derived from Spain

[1] See *State Papers*, 1817–18, p. 437. Our Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, says, "the only boundaries ever acknowledged by France before the cession to Spain in 1762 were those marked out in the grant from Louis XIV. to Crozat."

[2] See Travers Twiss, p. 202.

extends our exclusive rights over the whole territory in dispute against Great Britain." [1]

This position, expressed by Mr. Buchanan in his negotiations with the British government in 1845, had been uniformly held by our government from the time of the treaty of Florida. Dr. Twiss himself said:

"In 1824 Mr. Rush commenced his negotiations by claiming for the United States, 'in their own right, exclusive sovereignty and dominion, to the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d to at least as far up as the 51st degree of north latitude.' He further said that 'in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of that coast, from latitude 42° to as far north as 60°, was superior to that of Great Britain or any other power:

"'First: Through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement: and

"'Second: As now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands all her title.'" [2]

5. The opinion that Louisiana did not extend beyond the Rocky Mountains has been almost uniformly held by the leading men of our government. We have mentioned the views of Mr. Rush, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. John Quincy Adams, and Mr. Buchanan; all of whom conducted at different times negotiations with Great Britain upon this subject. Mr. Jefferson in a letter written in August, 1803, immediately after the ratification of the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana, said:

"The boundaries [of Louisiana] which I deem not admitting question are the high lands on the western side of the Mississippi, enclosing all its waters (the Missouri of course) and terminating in a line drawn from the northwest side of the Lake of the Woods, to the nearest source of the Mississippi."

[1] Letter of Mr. Buchanan, July 12, 1845. [2] Travers Twiss, p. 269.

Mr. Jefferson also said in a letter written December 31, 1816, to John Melish, map publisher, of Philadelphia:

"The western boundary of Louisiana is rightfully the Rio Bravo from its mouth to its source and thence along the highlands and mountains dividing the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Pacific. On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana."

In 1819 came the Florida treaty between Spain and the United States, which fixed the boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains, between the United States and the Spanish Mexican provinces, as latitude 42°; the King of Spain "ceding to the United States all his rights, claims and pretentions to any territory north of said line." This treaty refers to the Melish map, —which map was accepted by both governments as correct,—and this map gives the Rocky Mountains as the western limits of the Louisiana Purchase; the region beyond to the Pacific being designated as "the unexplored region." This is another evidence that the United States did not claim that region as a part of the purchase from France.

John J. Anderson, Ph.D., the author of a series of school histories of the United States, in reviewing this subject uses the following language:

"In March, 1844, Mr. A. V. Brown, from the 'Committee on Territories' made a report to Congress, covering twenty-four closely printed pages, in which this whole question is thoroughly discussed. In all this long report there is not the first attempt to prove that our right to Oregon came to us through the Louisiana Purchase.

"Mr. Clay says not a word of the Louisiana Purchase; and Mr. Gallatin, in his able and exhaustive discussion on the subject, as manifested in his letters, and in his celebrated pamphlet of seventy-five pages published in 1846, makes but the briefest allusion to the Louisiana Purchase.

The whole bent of his argument is to show that our title to Oregon came to us through discoveries, exploration, and occupation. Mr. Caleb Cushing's report, made to Congress in January, 1839; the books written from the British standpoint, by the English authors, Thomas Falconer, Travers Twiss, and John Dunn; besides numerous pamphlets, an able article in the *North American Review* for 1845 (p. 214), as well as Presidents' messages, and reports of debates in Congress—all reviewing and discussing the Oregon Question—have been read by me with great care; but nowhere have I seen any attempt whatever to prove that any part of the region west of the Rocky Mountains ever belonged to France, or that France ever made any pretense of conveying it to the United States. The region was no part of the Louisiana Purchase." [1]

In 1839, Hon. Caleb Cushing, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted to Congress an able and exhaustive report, reviewing our grounds for claiming Oregon, in which he expresses substantially the views given above. In this report Mr. Cushing says:

"The United States, then, claim title to the exclusive dominion, as against any foreign power, of the country, extending east and west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and north and south from the limits of the Mexican Republic in latitude 42° north to those of Russia in latitude 54 degrees and 40 minutes north, with an offer to relinquish to Great Britain all north of latitude 49°. They claim this on these grounds: 1. In their own right; 2. As the successor of France; and 3. Of Spain."

He then elaborates the first and third points and slides over the second. He shows that after our purchase of Louisiana, Spain was the only power that could contest our claim to the Pacific territory. He says:

"The Louisiana treaty cedes to the United States the colony or province of Louisiana with the extent it had in

[1] From a pamphlet by Dr. Anderson, entitled, *Did the Louisiana Purchase Extend to the Pacific Ocean?* p. 4. 1880.

the hands of Spain in 1800, and that it had when previously possessed by France, with all its rights and appurtenances.

"This description is, to be sure, sufficiently loose. But Napoleon having made the cession at the moment of going to war with Great Britain, and having made it to prevent the country falling into the hands of the latter, and having ceded it to the United States out of friendly feelings toward us, and in order to augment our power as against that of Great Britain:—being actuated by those motives, he of course chose to execute a quit-claim rather than a warranty of boundaries; and the United States, placed in the position of acquiring, at a cheap price, a territory almost invaluable to her, had no disposition to be hypercritical on this point, and thus hazard the loss of such a favorable contingency. And though much controversy sprang up in regard to the southwestern or southeastern limits of Louisiana, yet all this resolved itself at length into a question with Spain, as did also the doubts as to the western limits of Louisiana." [1]

These statements show clearly that there was no doubt in the mind of Mr. Cushing in reference to the western boundaries of Louisiana; and also that no government except that of Spain could show any claim to this country. When, therefore, we had purchased her right, our claim to Oregon, throughout its widest extent, was absolutely indisputable.

We conclude, therefore, that our claim to Oregon consisted first in our own right, coming from discovery, exploration, settlement, and contiguity; and secondly in our succeeding to the right which Spain might have set up to all that coast north of latitude 42°.

It is interesting to note that within the last few years no important book on American history has advocated the theory that the Louisiana Purchase extended beyond the Rocky Mountains. On the contrary, many prominent writers have taken the

[1] *Document No. 101*, p. 7. House of Representatives, Twenty-fifth Congress, Third Session.

ground that the western boundary of Louisiana was the Rocky Mountains. Among these may be mentioned Mr. Blaine in his *Twenty Years in Congress*, Mr. McMaster and Dr. Fisher in their histories of the United States, and Dr. Hinsdale in *The Old Northwest*.

One of the best wall maps of the United States recently issued is the land map published under the direction of the United States Government by the General Land Office. Two or three editions of this map have perpetuated the error of Walker and Stocking by including the Oregon country in the Louisiana Purchase. Such protests were poured in upon the Department of the Interior that quite lately an investigation of the subject was ordered, and the conclusion was reached that this was an error. The announcement has been made that future editions of this map will conform to the facts and carry the Louisiana Purchase only to the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER I

EARLY MISSIONS IN THE OREGON COUNTRY

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, in his soliloquy upon death which he named *Thanatopsis*, searches the whole world for a lifeless country,—a country void of life, but filled with the dead. It would seem that he was unfortunate in his choice. He passed by Sahara, Arabia, and Siberia. He selected to represent that country without life, but peopled with the dead, the valley of the Columbia.

> "Take the wings of morning,
> And lose thyself in the continuous woods
> Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
> Save his own dashings—yet—the dead are there:
> And millions in those solitudes, since first
> The flight of years began, have laid them down
> In their last sleep—the dead reign there alone."

There has been no time since civilized men first visited the shores of that great river, when the country was uninhabited. When Robert Gray first landed from his ship *Columbia* ten or twenty miles up the river, he traded with the Indians, who were then living there. Vancouver found many Indians near the banks of the Columbia forty or fifty miles from its mouth. Lewis and Clark in 1805 and 1806 found swarms of Indians lining the banks of the river. The missionaries in 1834, '35, and '36 were sent to preach the gospel not to the dead, but to the living.

During the first third of the nineteenth century, only aboriginal Indians were the inhabitants of the Oregon country. The origin of civilization upon that coast was due to missionary spirit and enterprise, and this missionary spirit was aroused by the action of the Indians themselves.

The Lewis and Clark party passed through the country of the Nez Percés and Flatheads, and an entire generation afterwards, stories were current among the Indians of that company of white men. It happened in some way that the Indians secured from them a tall silk hat, and for twenty or thirty years that hat was to the Indians a symbol of the white men. It was a great trophy for any one who could obtain possession of it. That old silk hat was the occasion of many a story being told of what happened when the white men went through their country. It was said that these white men carried with them straight iron rods, and that at any time they willed it, the rods would thunder and send out lightnings. They carried with them a brass voice that could bray louder than an ass and could be heard farther than the howl of a buffalo or a black bear.

These red men came to believe that their white brethren were the favorite children of the Great Spirit who alone rules the world. The white men had a "Book from Heaven," which told them how they should live, in order to be happy and finally reach the happy hunting grounds after death.

Was it not natural that they should wish to be instructed by their white brethren and to receive from them the "Book from Heaven"? These thoughts of the Indians took final shape at a council fire which was held probably in the early springtime of 1832.

There on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, these Indian sages, warriors, and chiefs discussed the whole situation and finally decided to send a delegation of four men over the mountains towards the sun-rising to ask aid from the pale-faces. They appointed as their delegates two old men and two young men, and with many a word of encouragement and cheer this Indian embassy set out on its long journey. Which way they came, how long was their journey, what sufferings they endured, will never be known. What a heroic undertaking! What a story those men could have told! How and where did they get through the mountains? How did they succeed in swimming the rivers?

But they did succeed. In the autumn of 1832 they appeared in St. Louis. Before long two of them sickened and died, and the remaining two started back for their country in the spring of 1833.

In The *Illinois Patriot*, published in Jacksonville, October 12, 1833, is the following article:

THE OREGON COUNTRY

A meeting was held in this place a few weeks since, by some gentlemen who felt anxious to bear their part in Christianizing and civilizing the Indians of this country, and particularly those who have expressed a desire to become acquainted with our religious institutions. A committee was appointed by the meeting to make the necessary investigations. This committee, consisting of the Rev. Lucian Farnam and Mr. Julius Reed, visited St. Louis, and there made such inquiries of individuals who had become personally acquainted with the character and locality of the tribes in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, and consulted such authorities as the object of their investigations seemed to demand.

During the late session of the Illinois Synod, held in this town, this committee made a report, an extract from

which will be found below. We publish this extract because it contains much interesting and authentic information in regard to a portion of our country which is, at no distant day, to be occupied by citizens from all parts of the United States. If any benevolent individuals are disposed to go out as pioneers among the tribes who inhabit these regions, and shall become instrumental in so subduing their natural ferocity as to induce them to "beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks," they should be looked upon as contributors to the happiness and prosperity of the nation at large. In so doing, they will save the lives and property of many who would otherwise fall a prey to savage barbarity in its natural state. It is surprising that our General Government is so slow to discover that, by establishing schools and sending good men to instruct the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion and in the arts of civilized life, it will contribute to the safety and prosperity of all our frontier settlers. Had the Government done its duty in this particular, there need not have been so much treasure expended—so much blood spilt—as there has been in protecting our frontiers from the butcheries of these ferocious children of the forest.

In the few brief statements that will now be made, it is not pretended that all the sources of information have been consulted, or that all the information has been obtained, that might be, from these. But the facts which we procured, were drawn from several sources, and those among the best that are to be found. And the inquiries of the committee were as extensive and minute as their time and the nature of the case would admit. And in presenting these facts, infallibility in all the particulars is not pretended, but this much can be safely promised, that all the important facts will be found in the main correct, and that these facts, though not so numerous and particular as could be wished, are, nevertheless, sufficient, it is believed, to bring the inquiring mind to some satisfactory conclusions.

In attempting an investigation of this kind, one thing which strikes the mind with peculiar force is the extreme difficulty of obtaining particular information of the kind which is needed. Much general information, and that very valuable, can be obtained, but it cannot be made to bear with that minuteness upon the particular subject of our inquiries, as would be desirable. With these few preliminary

observations I shall proceed to state the information which has been obtained. And as much interest has been awakened in the mind of the Christian public by the visit of certain Indians to General Clark to inquire into the Christian religion, I shall commence with them.

It is a fact that, in the autumn of 1831 [1832], four Indians from beyond the Rocky Mountains came to General Clark, in St. Louis, for no other ostensible purpose than to make inquiries concerning our religion. The circumstances which led to this visit are already before the public. Three of these Indians were from what is called the Flathead tribe, and one of them from another tribe, which I do not recollect that General Clark mentioned — probably, however, from the adjoining tribe, called Pierced-Nose Indians. They remained several months with General Clark, and attended all the places of worship in the city. During their stay two of them died; in the spring the others returned to their countrymen, very favorably impressed, and highly gratified with the kind treatment they had received. The ideas they obtained on the subject of their embassy must have been very limited and indistinct, from the difficulty both of understanding the particular points of their inquiries, and of communicating to them the answers in such terms as they could comprehend. And even had they been adepts in our language, and had they possessed every facility for instruction, the time was so short, that they could have carried back to their nation but a very imperfect sketch of the Christian religion. From anything that could be learned on the subject, it does not appear whether these Indians were a delegation from their tribe, or whether, being of a more inquisitive turn of mind than their brethren, and having their curiosity excited by the white man's story, they came as mere adventurers to gratify their curiosity. Nor does it appear whether those who returned, received such an impression in regard to the Christian religion as that they would prefer it to their own superstitious rites.

These "circumstances already before the public" would seem to refer to an article in The *Christian Advocate*, New York, which was published March 1, 1833. This article is frequently referred to by writers upon

this subject. It is of such importance that it has been obtained from the files of the *Advocate*, and the larger part of it is here quoted:

THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

The plans to civilize the savage tribes of our country are among the most remarkable signs of the times. To ameliorate the condition of the Indians, and to preserve them from gradual decline and extinction, the government of the United States have proposed and already commenced removing them to the region westward of the Mississippi. Here it is intended to establish them in a permanent residence. Some powerful nations of these aborigines, having accepted the proposal, have already emigrated to their new lands, and others are now preparing to follow them. Among those who still remain are the Wyandots, a tribe long distinguished as standing at the head of the great Indian family. . . .

They, amounting to five hundred, are the only Indians in Ohio who have determined to remain upon their lands. The Senecas, Shawnees, and Ottawas have all sold their Ohio possessions, and have either removed, or are on their way to the west of the Mississippi. A small band of about seventy Wyandots from the Big Spring have disposed of their reservation of sixteen thousand acres, but have not accepted the offered lands of the government in exchange. They will retire into Michigan, or Canada, after leaving some of their number at the main reservation of Upper Sandusky. . . .

The Wyandots, after urgent and often repeated solicitations of the government for their removal, wisely resolved to send agents to explore the region offered them in exchange, before they made any decision upon the proposal. In November last [1832] the party started on the exploring expedition, and visited their proposed residence. This was a tract of country containing about two hundred thousand acres, and situated between the western part of Missouri and the Missouri River. The location was found to be one altogether unsuitable to the views, the necessities, and the support of the nation. They consequently declined the exchange.

Since their return, one of the exploring party, Mr.

William Walker, an interpreter, and himself a member of the nation, sent me a communication. As it contains some valuable facts of a region from which we seldom hear, the letter is now offered for publication.

UPPER SANDUSKY, January 19, 1833.

DEAR FRIEND,—Your last letter, dated Nov. 12, came duly to hand. The business part is answered in another communication which is inclosed.

I deeply regret that I have had no opportunity of answering your very friendly letter in a manner that would be satisfactory to myself; neither can I now, owing to a want of time and a retired place, where I can write undisturbed.

You, no doubt, can fancy me seated in my small dwelling, at the dining table, attempting to write, while my youngest (sweet little urchin!) is pulling my pocket-handkerchief out of my pocket, and Henry Clay, my only son, is teasing me to pronounce a word he has found in his little spelling book. This done, a loud rap is heard at my door, and two or three of my Wyandot friends make their appearance, and are on some business. I drop my pen, dispatch the business, and resume it.

The country we explored is truly a land of savages. It is wild and romantic; it is champaign, but beautifully undulated country. You can travel in some parts for whole days and not find timber enough to afford a riding switch, especially after you get off the Missouri and her principal tributary streams. The soil is generally a dark loam, but not of a durable kind for agriculture. As a country for agricultural pursuits, it is far inferior to what it has been represented to be. It is deplorably defective in timber. There are millions of acres on which you cannot procure timber enough to make a chicken coop. Those parts that are timbered are on some of the principal streams emptying into the great Missouri, and are very broken, rough, and cut up with deep ravines; and the timber, what there is of it, is of an inferior quality, generally a small growth of white, black, and burr oaks, hickory, ash, buckeye, mulberry, linwood, coffee bean, a low scrubby kind of birch, red and slippery elm, and a few scattering walnut trees. It is remarkable, in all our travels west of the Mississippi River, we never found even one solitary poplar, beech, pine, or sassafras tree, though we were informed that higher up the Missouri River, above Council Bluffs, pine trees abound to a great extent, especially the nearer you approach the Rocky Mountains. The immense country embraced between the western line of the state of Missouri and the territory of Arkansas, and the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains on the west, and the Texas

and Santa Fé on the south, is inhabited by the Osage, Sioux (pronounced Sooz), Pawnees, Comanches, Pancahs, Arrapahoes, Assiniboins, Riccarees, Yanktons, Omahaws, Blackfeet, Ottoes, Crow Indians, Sacs, Fowes, and Iowas; all a wild, fierce, and warlike people. West of the mountains reside the Flatheads, and many other tribes, whose names I do not now recollect.

I will here relate an anecdote, if I may so call it. Immediately after we landed in St. Louis, on our way to the west, I proceeded to Gen. Clark's, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to present our letters of introduction from the Secretary of War, and to receive the same from him to the different Indian agents in the upper country. While in his office and transacting business with him, he informed me that three chiefs from the Flathead nation were in his house, and were quite sick, and that one (the fourth) had died a few days ago. They were from the west of the Rocky Mountains. Curiosity prompted me to step into the adjoining room to see them, having never seen any, but often heard of them. I was struck with their appearance. They differ in appearance from any tribe of Indians I have ever seen: small in size, delicately formed, small limbs, and the most exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I had always supposed from their being called "Flatheads," that the head was actually flat on the top; but this is not the case. The head is flattened thus: [Here was a cut showing the flattening of the forehead from the nose to the top of the head.]

From the point of the nose to the apex of the head, there is a perfect straight line, the protuberance of the forehead is flattened or levelled. You may form some idea of the shape of their heads from the rough sketch I have made with the pen, though I confess I have drawn most too long a proboscis for a Flathead. This is produced by a pressure upon the cranium while in infancy. The distance they had travelled on foot was nearly three thousand miles to see Gen. Clark, their Great Father, as they call him, he being the first American officer they ever became acquainted with, and having much confidence in him, they had come to consult him, as they said, upon very important matters. Gen. Clark related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative. I will here relate it as briefly as I well can. It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to him; he also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of

the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy his favor and hold converse with him; and with this guide no one need go astray, but everyone that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, his favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said: if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit, it is high time we laid it aside; we must know something more about this, it is a matter that cannot be put off, the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of their chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their Great Father, Gen. Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to Gen. Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him. He, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white men in their own country was true. He then went into a succinct history of man from his creation down to the advent of the Savior; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue, informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as a mediator—that he will judge the world, etc.

Poor fellows, they were not all permitted to return home to their people with the intelligence. Two died in St. Louis, and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not, is not known. The change of climate and diet operated very severely upon their health. Their diet when at home is chiefly vegetables and fish.

If they died on the way home, peace be to their manes! They died inquirers after the truth. I was informed that the Flatheads as a nation have the fewest vices of any tribe of Indians on the continent of America.

I had just concluded that I would lay this rough and uncouth scroll aside and revise it before sending it, but if I lay it aside you will never receive it; so I will send it to you just as it is, "with all its imperfections," hoping that you may be able to decipher it. You are at liberty to make what use of it you please. . . .

Yours in haste, WILLIAM WALKER.

G. P. DISOSWAY, Esq.

How deeply affecting is the circumstance of the four natives traveling on foot three thousand miles through thick forests and extensive prairies, sincere searchers after truth! The story has scarcely a parallel in history. What a touching theme does it form for the imagination and pen of a Montgomery, a Mrs. Hemans, or our own fair Sigourney! With what intense concern will men of God whose souls are fired with holy zeal for the salvation of their fellow-beings, read their history! There are immense plains, mountains, and forests in those regions whence they came, the abode of numerous savage tribes. But no apostle of Christ has yet had the courage to penetrate into their moral darkness. Adventurous and daring fur traders only have visited these regions, unknown to the rest of the world, except from their own account of them. If the Father of Spirits, as revealed by Jesus Christ, is not known among these interior wilds of America, they nevertheless often resound the praises of the unknown, invisible, Great Spirit, as he is denominated by the savages. They are not ignorant of the immortality of their souls, and speak of some future delicious island or country where departed spirits rest. May we not indulge the hope that the day is not far distant when the missionaries will penetrate into these wilds where the Sabbath bell has never yet tolled since the world began! There is not, perhaps, west of the Rocky Mountains, any portion of the Indians that presents at this moment a spectacle so full of interest to contemplative minds as the Flathead tribe. Not a thought of converting or civilizing them ever enters the mind of the sordid, demoralizing hunters and fur traders. These simple children of nature even shrink from the loose morality and inhumanities often introduced among them by the white man. Let the Church awake from her slumbers, and go forth in her strength to the salvation of these wandering sons of our native forests. We are citizens of this vast universe, and our life embraces not merely a moment, but eternity itself. Thus exalted, what can be more worthy of our high destination than to befriend our species and those efforts that are making to release immortal spirits from the chains of error and superstition, and to bring them to the knowledge of the true God.

G. P. D.

New York, February 18, 1833.

The Lewis and Clark party had evidently made a strong impression upon the minds of those Indians, and this impression had been deepened by occasional interviews with hunters, trappers, and fur traders. At last these four men started towards the rising sun and at the end of their journey appeared in St. Louis, at the office of General Clark, who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the whole Northwest. They came to him not only because of the office which he held, but also because he had been one of the two leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark party. Through the whole winter they were cared for, and supplied with food, clothing, and shelter. General Clark took them to the theatre and other places of entertainment, and they attended services in the Catholic Cathedral and several other churches in St. Louis. That which pleased the Indians most of all was riding in a carriage on wheels, a never-ending source of amusement.

The springtime came, and the two survivors must return to their people. Their return journey was doubtless far less laborious than the trip eastward. They were taken on a river steamboat belonging to the American Fur Company as far as one of the company's trading posts at the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. From there they traveled overland to their home, following almost exactly the route of the Lewis and Clark party. It is generally believed that only one of the Indians lived to reach his people and tell them of his journey and of his entertainment by the pale-faces; and also to say to them, as he must, that the white brethren had not sent them any teachers or their "Book from Heaven."

Before leaving St. Louis, the two surviving delegates made the usual ceremonial call upon General Clark to

bid him farewell. Some writers state that before their departure General Clark gave them a banquet, and the spokesman in his farewell address made clear their sorrow and disappointment because they must return empty-handed without the Book and without the religious guide. These were his pathetic words:

"I came to you over a trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the good land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to the other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book, to make the way plain. I have no more words."

One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down at the moment the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to be

circulated. Rev. H. H. Spalding, one of Dr. Whitman's associate missionaries, whose work lay among the Nez Percés, says that years afterwards the speaker repeated to him in substance the speech that he made to General Clark on that occasion.

It has been currently reported that these four Indians were from two tribes, the Flatheads and the Nez Percés. Dr. Cushing Eells, one of Dr. Whitman's associates, told the writer that this movement originated with the Nez Percés only, and it would seem that Dr. Eells was correct. Rev. Daniel Lee, in his book entitled, *Ten Years in Oregon*, says they were "probably the Nez Percé tribe." Mr. Lee further says: "The writer saw General Clark in 1834, two years after their visit, and learned from him these particulars in relation to it. Two of them became sick and died in St. Louis, and the other two started to return to their native land."[1] It is probable that at that time several tribes beyond the Rocky Mountains followed the custom of flattening the heads of their children, including those later known as "Flatheads" and the "Nez Percés."

It is well known that George Catlin, the famous painter of Indian portraits, went west in the spring of 1833, and soon after leaving St. Louis he found that the two surviving Indians of this embassy were in the same caravan with himself. On that journey he painted their portraits, and Dr. Barrows is authority for saying that these two portraits, numbered 207 and 209, are now in Washington in the Catlin collection of Indian portraits, hanging in the Assembly Hall of the Smithsonian Institute.[2]

[1] D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, pp. 109, 110. 1884.
[2] See Barrows, *Oregon*, p. 113.

At that time Mr. Catlin did not know for what purpose these two Indians had been to St. Louis. On his return from the West, while at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, he heard of this closing address of the Indian orator, but doubted its truth. He said: "I am well acquainted with General Clark, and if this had been true he would have told me." He at once wrote to General Clark, who replied: "The story is true; that was the only object of their visit." Then Catlin said: "Publish it to the world."

A vigorous appeal in behalf of Indian missions, made by Dr. Wilbur Fiske, president of Wesleyan University, before the Methodist General Conference, resulted in the organization of the Oregon Methodist mission. Dr. Fiske opened correspondence with a former pupil of his, Rev. Jason Lee, who at this time was employed by the Church in Canada as an Indian missionary in his native place, Stanstead, Quebec. He solicited him to undertake the superintendence of an Indian mission beyond the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Lee at once expressed strong interest in the movement, and in the spring of 1833 went to Boston, where the New England Conference was in session. He was received as a member of that body, ordained by Bishop Hedding, and appointed to the superintendence of the Oregon mission. Rev. Daniel Lee, his nephew, was also appointed missionary to the same field, and Cyrus Shepard, a lay member of the church, was subsequently engaged to accompany them. Their outfit was shipped around Cape Horn on a vessel called the *May Dacre*. This was a vessel chartered by Captain N. J. Wyeth of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who had recently arrived from a tour west of the Rocky Mountains and intended to return to Oregon in the following

spring. Captain Wyeth organized his party, of which these missionaries were members, and they started overland from Fort Independence, near what is now Kansas City, on the 25th of April, 1834.

Wyeth and his men, in July following, arrived at a place on the Snake River west of the mountains, and there built a trading station which he named Fort Hall. By the 1st of September, the missionary party came to Fort Walla Walla, now Wallula Junction, on the Columbia River. They did not come within the region of the Nez Percés, and as they were not pleased with the country of the Flathead Indians, they sought for a more eligible situation in the lower country. Continuing down the river to Vancouver, on September 15th they slept under a roof for the first time in one hundred and fifty-two nights. Dr. John McLoughlin and others of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver strongly recommended the Willamette Valley. Their location was finally determined upon, and they settled themselves in October at their station sixty or seventy-five miles up the Willamette River.

Thus the Nez Percés and the Flatheads, who had sent their delegation over the mountains down to the Mississippi River with that touching request for the "Book from Heaven" and the "men near to God," were passed by and were still left in darkness.

CHAPTER II

PARKER'S EXPLORING TOUR

IT will be noticed that the Methodist Church started its missionaries out towards Oregon in 1834. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which at that time included both the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, was not idle in regard to so promising a field. In 1834 they discussed the subject at the mission rooms, and, in order to proceed wisely, they determined to send two men "to spy out the land." They selected for their Caleb and Joshua, Rev. Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman, M.D., to go over to Oregon on an exploring tour and report whether the people and the country appeared to furnish a fruitful field for Christian missions. Mr. Parker was a native of Ashfield, Massachusetts, a graduate of Williams College and of Andover Theological Seminary, had done missionary work in the state of New York, and had been pastor of Congregational churches in Massachusetts and New York. He was at this time fifty-six years of age. Dr. Whitman was a younger man, thirty-three years old, a native of Rushville, New York, and a graduate of the Berkshire Medical School at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The object of the Board in appointing them was "to ascertain by personal observation the condition of the country, the character of the Indian nations and tribes,

and the facilities for introducing the gospel and civilization among them."

Mr. Parker proposed to go to Oregon in 1834, but was too late for the caravan. He finally started on his long journey March 14, 1835. His route lay by the way of Buffalo, Erie, and Pittsburg. He arrived at Pittsburg on the 25th, and took passage on the steamboat *Ohioan* for Cincinnati, four hundred and fifty miles distant. Three days brought him to that city. There he exchanged boats and went on board the *Chien* for St. Louis, six hundred and ninety miles farther. In his account of this voyage, Mr. Parker says:

"The striking difference in the tastes and habits of the people inhabiting the two sides of the river was here very apparent. Upon the Ohio side the farms and neatly painted dwellings are in the New England style, while on the Kentucky side, scattered here and there you see the large log houses of the planters in a grade of architecture considerably above the log cabins of their slaves, by which they are surrounded, yet log houses still. These are built two stories high, with a wide airy hall through the centre, one of the lower rooms being the parlor and the other serves the several purposes of a nursery, sleeping- and eating-room. Open, frank hospitality characterizes the Kentuckian, which is pleasing to a stranger. I offered a lady in one of these mansions some tracts, which she at first declined with the inquiry, 'Do you think we are heathen?' 'No, madam, but tracts contain much that is interesting to all classes of people and after they are read can be circulated among those who may not be well supplied with books.'"

Mr. Parker arrived at St. Louis on the 4th of April, the journey from Cincinnati having occupied a full week. Dr. Whitman had come through the central parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and reached St. Louis in advance of Mr. Parker.

From St. Louis their route was by water up the

Missouri. The steamboat carried them past Jefferson City and as far as Clay County, where the boat became disabled, and the party began to travel by land. Organizing the caravan at Liberty, then a small village three miles from the river in Clay County, they pushed onward up the river to Council Bluffs. From this place their route lay westward up the Platte River to the Black Hills, which they reached during the last days of July. Onward they went up the Sweetwater, and on the 10th of August they were on the Great Divide within the limits of the South Pass. In writing up his itinerary afterwards Mr. Parker described this pass as follows:

"It varies in width from two to fifteen miles, and following its course the distance through the mountains is about one hundred miles, or four days' journey. Though there are some elevations and depressions in this valley, yet comparatively speaking it is level, and the summit, where the waters divide which flow into the Atlantic and into the Pacific, is about six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. There would be no difficulty in the way of constructing a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. There is no greater difficulty in the whole distance than has already been overcome in passing the Green Mountains between Boston and Albany; and probably the time may not be far distant when trips will be made across the continent as they have been made to the Niagara Falls, to see Nature's wonders."

This is believed to be the first announcement in print of the possibility of a transcontinental railroad. Observe that the book from which this extract is taken was published in the year 1838, more than sixty years ago. What a remarkable prophecy! "Trips made across the continent to see Nature's wonders." What great excursions were made already before the close of the nineteenth century, across this American conti-

nent to see Nature's wonders ! There are now seven distinct and separate routes from the East to the Pacific coast.

On the 12th of August, the missionaries and their caravan reached the rendezvous beyond the mountains on the Green River, a branch of the Colorado, in latitude 42° 50′. Mr. Parker describes the place as "a widely extended, pleasant valley, with a fertile soil, and, like the country we have passed through, it is almost entirely prairie with some woods skirting the streams of water." [1] Bear in mind that they had then crossed the Divide and were beyond the main range of the Rocky Mountains ; yet Mr. Parker speaks of the country passed through as "prairie."

Here the party remained ten days, during which time the missionaries had an interesting interview with the chiefs of the Nez Percés and the Flatheads. Mr. Parker, in writing of this meeting, says:

"We laid before them the object of our appointment, and explained to them the benevolent desires of Christians concerning them. We then inquired whether they wished to have teachers come among them, and instruct them in the knowledge of God, His worship, and the way to be saved; and what they would do to aid them in their labors. The oldest chief arose, and said he was old and did not expect to know much more; he was deaf and could not hear, but his heart was made glad, very glad, to see what he had never seen before, a man near to God, meaning a minister of the Gospel.

"Next arose Insala, the most influential chief in the nation, and said he had heard that a 'man near to God' was coming to visit them, and he, with some of his people, together with some white men, went out three days' journey to meet him, but failed of finding the caravan. A war party of the Crow Indians came upon them in the night, and after a short battle, though no lives were lost, they took away some

[1] Parker, *Exploring Tour*, p. 79.

of their horses, and from him one which he greatly loved, but now he forgets all, his heart is made so glad to see a 'man near to God.' The first chief of the Nez Percés, Tai-quin-sa-watish, arose and said that he had heard from white men a little about God, which had only gone into his ears; he wished to know enough to have it go down into his heart, to influence his life and to teach his people. Others spoke to the same import, and they all made as many promises as we could desire.

"The Nez Percé and Flathead Indians present a promising field for missionary labor, white for the harvest, and the indications of divine Providence in regard to it are made plain by their anxiety to obtain Christian knowledge. Taking the various circumstances under deliberate and prayerful consideration, in regard to these Indians, we came to the conclusion that, though many other important stations might be found, this would be one. So desirable did this object appear, that Dr. Whitman proposed to return with the caravan and obtain associates to come out with him the next year, with the then returning caravan, and establish a mission among the people, and by so doing save at least a year in bringing the Gospel among them. In view of the importance of the object I readily consented to the proposal, and to go alone with the Indians the remainder of the exploring tour. Dr. Whitman, on further consideration, felt some misgivings about leaving me, and feared that he should be blamed by the Christian public. I expressed my desire that no disquietude should be felt for me." [1]

On the 22d, ten days after their arrival at the rendezvous, Dr. Whitman set out on his return to the States, and Mr. Parker continued his exploring tour with an Indian escort.

This division of forces was a bold stroke, which required several favorable circumstances to insure its success. The leading Indians who favored the missionary movement were the Nez Percés, and they were thoroughly in earnest and anxious to have the missionaries among them. For this condition of mind

[1] Parker, *Exploring Tour*, pp. 81, 82.

STOOPTOOPNIN
Procured the spade to dig Whitman's grave

IPNASALATALC
Said to have helped to bury the dead after the massacre

EAGLE
Saved four men from the massacre

they were doubtless prepared by the embassy they had already sent to the white men, and the report which the sole survivor had made upon his return. They cordially took charge of Mr. Parker, supplied all his wants, and delivered him over safely to the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla. A young Nez Percé Indian, named Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats, was his guide. He was called Lawyer by the American trappers, because of his ability and shrewdness in argument, and because he always defended the Americans against the British Hudson's Bay people. These Nez Percés knew that Rev. Mr. Lee and his party had made their settlement in the Willamette Valley near the Husus-hai-hai (White-head), which was the name the Indians had given to Dr. John McLoughlin. Another important circumstance is that the Indians consented to let Dr. Whitman take with him to the East two of their boys. Their Indian names were Tuetakas and Ites. The first Dr. Whitman called Richard; to the other he gave the name of John.

Dr. Whitman, with his strong, hearty, bold energy, having once made up his mind that the Oregon country was a suitable field for missionary operation, was anxious to lose no time in taking possession of that field. To go on with Mr. Parker and personally examine the country would require a year's time. Being thoroughly satisfied with what he had seen of the Indians who had come in such large numbers from Oregon to the rendezvous, he was ready to return with the caravan of the American Fur Company, so as to start back the following spring with reënforcements to establish the mission.

Mr. Parker, therefore, continued his journey westward, while Dr. Whitman and the two Indian boys,

under convoy of the American Fur Company, with Captain Fitzpatrick and Captain Bridger, started toward the East, "home from the Rocky Mountains."

"Dr. Whitman, by his off-hand, easy manner of accommodating himself to circumstances, and by his kind-heartedness and promptness to relieve all who needed his professional skill, had won the esteem of all with whom he travelled, so that the gentlemen of the American Fur Company cheerfully supplied his wants on his return trip to the States, where he arrived in due time, and made his report to the American Board, who decided to establish the mission." [1]

It is but natural to suppose that before leaving the frontier for the West, Dr. Whitman would send a letter back to that Miss Prentiss to whom he was already engaged. We are fortunate in having one such letter preserved. Here it is:

LIBERTY, CLAY CO., MO., April 30, 1835.

I arrived at St. Louis on the first day of April, and had to await Brother Parker several days. My health was very much improved by the journey. We remained in St. Louis until the 8th inst., when we left suddenly and much sooner than we intended. On the night of the 7th inst. a fire broke out near the stable where my horse was kept, destroying the stable, with between fifty and sixty horses, mine with the rest. We then determined to take the steamboat and left the next day. We had a long and difficult passage up the river on account of low water and sandbars. We have been here some time awaiting the arrival of Mr. Fontanille who commands the fur expedition. He is delayed still by the steamboat having got upon a sandbar, where it remains and must remain until the river rises. We have not known any of his plans since his goods have been detained. We met with every kindness and encouragement from him and the Fur Co. at St. Louis as well as from Christian friends. The season is very backward so that we

[1] Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 109.

could not proceed if Mr. Fontanille was not detained. We shall travel from here with each of us a horse and one mule to pack.

I had not given up the hope that you would have been able to come on with Mr. Powell until I received your letter. I regret very much that he did not come. He would have had an abundant and pressing field open among the Pawnees, as we have learned from various sources. In reading your letter I was surprised exceedingly that you should have conceived it practicable for you to have crossed the mountains this spring. Had I known one half as much of the trip as I now do, when I left you, I should have been entirely willing, if not anxious, that you should have accompanied us.

[Mr. Parker said I could go just as well as not.

(Signed) N. PRENTISS.]

Many obstacles to our journey as conceived by us do not exist. We are assured of abundant protection until we shall have passed the mountains, and beyond the mountains we are told we shall not have much to fear from the Indians. We have the most flattering account of the health of such a trip. Perhaps no tour could do as much for an invalid.

Nothing like sickness has ever been known among the traders. Not a case of bilious disease, or ague, near or beyond the mountains. I am very much interested with the accounts we get concerning the Indians west of the mountains. I do not desire to return if it will be possible for me to remain. I have a strong desire for that field of labor. . . . I feel greatly encouraged to go on in every sense, only, I feel my unfitness for the work; but I know in whom I have trusted, and with whom are the fountains of wisdom. O that I may always look to this source for wisdom and grace. You will not forget my great need at a throne of grace. May the Lord grant you favor and consolation. How can Christians ever become indifferent in their Master's service? You need not be anxious especially for your health or safety, but for your usefulness to the cause of Missions and the souls of our benighted fellow men.

Rev. Dr. Parker wrote to his friend:

Brother Powell, Dr. Whitman gives me a small space to write you a few lines. I can only say that I am sorry

that you and Mrs. P. and Miss Prentiss are not with us. From what we have heard from Brethren Dunbar and Allis, we think their prospects are very promising and that among the Pawnees of the Platte there is a promising field of usefulness. Do write to the Board to have your appointment made for the Pawnees of the Platte, and come on as soon as you can. You will have many of the comforts of life, and nothing special to fear. But whilst you are writing get an agency from the Board to collect funds, but especially to find missionaries. I left Ithaca so unexpectedly that I did not write to the Board for your agency, nor to Doct. Saterlee of Elmira. Say to the Board and to the churches that according to the best information we get, almost all the Indian tribes west and far west present fields ripe for the harvest. Not even the Blackfeet Indians are without promise. I could give particulars but have no time or room. Love to you all.

Affectionately yours,
(Signed) Samuel Parker.

In another letter Dr. Whitman wrote:

Bellow, Up. Mo., 20 miles below Council Bluff,
June 21, 1835.

We left Liberty May 14th. It rained excessively almost every day so that the streams were all very high and we were obliged to pass them with rafts. After a tedious journey we arrived here May 30th. Became acquainted with Rev. Moses Merrill, Baptist Missionary to the Otoes at Liberty; he came up with us, and since we have been here, have been comfortably lodged with him. Found Brothers Dunbar and Allis here on our arrival. They traveled and hunted with the Pawnees last winter, and have now gone back to go on the summer hunt with them. They think the best way to obtain the language is to go with the Indians in this manner, and that missionaries must not wait for them to settle, but must go among them and settle them, and that nothing else will. The Pawnees are to have two teachers, and I suppose Messrs. Dunbar and Allis are or will be appointed, two farmers, two blacksmiths, and two strikers or men to assist the blacksmiths. One of the blacksmiths is employed; he is a pious good man I believe; the others are not engaged. If Mr. Powell

comes, Mrs. Powell could stay with Mr. Merrill, or at Leavenworth, for six months or a year, while Mr. Powell could go and live with the Indians and learn their language. Every comfort and even very good medical assistance would be rendered by Mr. Merrill. The Omahas are about ninety miles above this place and the Pawnees one hundred and twenty. The Omahas are a very quiet humane Indian.

I do not know that the appropriation is made yet by Congress to farmers for the Pawnees or the Omahas, but if not, very probably it will be at the next session. If your father wishes to do the Indians all the good he can, this is the best way that can be desired, for if good men do not occupy these stations bad men will, and do great harm. If he wished, it would be best for him to write Maj. John Dougherty, addressing his letter to Santonment, Leavenworth, Up. Mo. He is agent of the Otoes, Omahas, and Pawnees, and employs all farmers, blacksmiths, etc. Your father might address a letter to him offering to become a farmer for the Pawnees if he is prepared to employ one, if not that he might have the appointment in prospect. Give him the assurance of good and satisfactory recommendations and I have little doubt of his succeeding. The compensation will be, I think, five hundred dollars a year for a farmer and the same for a blacksmith, tools furnished. If he could not go with his family to the Pawnees at first, they could live here where there are several government houses, some of which they might occupy for a time. The Pawnee blacksmith is to live here for a year. Another one is wanted for the Pawnees immediately. Would not Bro. Gurney be willing to come? Will not some one write him, or prevail on some others to offer themselves? Remember the blacksmith is wanted now. They will be able to raise their own provision and to keep stock. Your sisters can be useful at the upper settlement in teaching. Teachers are much wanted and would be well encouraged. Let them write as directed above. Another farmer will be wanted. Try to obtain one. It will be best that each one write to the agent for himself and say nothing about the other. Most of the year a family could move from the settlement with wagons. If a family were at Liberty or Leavenworth they would be able to come up either by water or by land.

Since we are here I have been chiefly occupied in prep-

arations for our journey. My health was not good on the way from Liberty, and since I have been here have been quite sick, but am now recovered. For the last twelve days have been attending upon Mr. Fontanille's men; the cholera has raged severely among them; three only have died. Mr. Fontanille is sick with it himself, but now convalescent. He has a house and a farm half a mile below here, where his men have been, some encamped, and some in his buildings. It is not strange that they should have the cholera, because of their intemperance, their sunken and filthy situation. They have been removed for some days out upon the Bluffs where they have a clean, healthy situation. I think we shall be able to start for the mountains tomorrow and shall probably have good travelling. Mr. Parker and I have procured another horse to pack provisions. Mr. Fontanille takes five wagons and a great number of pack animals.

We have now a fair prospect of going on, and shall return letters every opportunity.

(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

CHAPTER III

WHITMAN'S EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE

MARCUS WHITMAN was born in Rushville, Yates County, New York, September 4, 1802. He was descended from good New England stock, characterized by both intellectual and moral strength. He came from a long-lived family. It is related that, when an infant, he was providentially saved from death by burning. While her child was asleep in the cradle, the mother stepped across the road to spend an hour with her husband, who was working in the shop. On returning to the humble log cabin, she was startled to find that a burning brand had rolled out from the fireplace, and, coming in contact with the cradle, had set it on fire. She was just in season to rescue Marcus from suffocation.

His boyhood was spent in a pioneer home with many privations; but this life was such as to give him the best preparation for heroic and manly deeds. He was early deprived of the care and guidance of his father, who died when he was eight years of age. This loss obliged him to take an active part in helping his mother. The early exercise of his physical and mental powers resulted not only in a strong and well-developed body, but in what proved to be of the utmost importance in his subsequent life, great self-reliance,

independence, determination, and a vigorous purpose to accomplish something worthy. He was fond of adventure and exploration even in boyhood.

In early childhood he was strongly impressed with religious truth and was a great reader of the Bible. He received careful religious training both from his parents at home, and, after the death of his father, from his paternal grandfather, Deacon Samuel Whitman of Plainville, Massachusetts, with whom he lived for a number of years. He was converted during a revival season when seventeen years of age, but for some reason did not make a public confession of his faith until five years later. He first united with the Congregational church in his native town, but subsequently he was a member and ruling elder of the Presbyterian church at Wheeler, New York, from which church he was dismissed when he went to Oregon.

He received a good common school education, and studied Latin under the direction of Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainville and Rev. David Page of Rushville. It was his intention at this time to enter the ministry, but some physical ailment led him to study medicine. He pursued a course of medical study in the Berkshire Medical College at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from which institution he received his diploma. He practiced medicine four years in Canada, and then returned to his old home with the full intention of devoting himself to the work of his chosen profession in his native state. These plans, however, were frustrated, and he became part owner with his brother in a sawmill. This business life prepared him still further for the great work that fell to him subsequently as a practical and progressive missionary and broad-minded patriot.

Dr. Whitman was a strong man, earnest, decided, aggressive. He was sincere and kind, generous to a fault, and from the time he took up the missionary work to the Indians, he devoted every energy of his mind and body to the welfare of the Indian and the objects of the mission. He was fearless of danger, strong in purpose, resolute and unflinching in the face of difficulties. At times he became animated and earnest in argument or conversation, but in general he would be called a man of reticence. He was above medium height, rather spare than otherwise, had deep blue eyes, a large mouth, and, in middle life, hair that would be called iron-gray.[1]

We have already followed Dr. Whitman on his first journey to the western country. He made the return trip without accident, leaving the convoy of the American Fur Company on the frontier. As he reached his home in Rushville, New York, late Saturday evening, he did not make his arrival known until the next morning, when he astonished the congregation by walking into church leading his two Indian boys and taking a seat beside his good mother, who involuntarily exclaimed: "Well, well, there is Marcus Whitman!"[2]

The American Board at once appointed Dr. Whitman missionary to the Indians of Oregon, and directed him to secure a proper man to go with him as an associate. In this Whitman had some difficulty. He could not find a suitable person,—a young, married man who would undertake so hazardous an enterprise. In the early spring of 1836, he found Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, who were already commissioned by the American Board to the Osage Indians. They

[1] This description is from Gray's *Oregon*. [2] Nixon, *Whitman*.

were willing to change their destination and go with Whitman beyond the Rocky Mountains. A graphic account of Whitman's meeting Spalding was given long ago by Mr. Spalding himself, but it is evidently strained and stilted. Passing over that, let us merely say that Mr. and Mrs. Spalding consented to accompany Whitman to Oregon.

Dr. Whitman had long been engaged to Miss Narcissa Prentiss, of Prattsburg, Steuben County, New York, and they now decided to be married at once. Mr. William H. Gray, who went to Oregon with them, thus describes Mrs. Whitman :

"She was a lady of refined feelings and commanding appearance. She had very light hair, light, fresh complexion, and light blue eyes. Her features were large, her form full and round. At that time she was in the prime of life, and was considered a fine, noble-looking woman, affable and free to converse with all she met. Her conversation was animated and cheerful. Firmness in her was natural, and to some, especially the Indians, it was repulsive. She had been brought up in comparative comfort, and moved in the best of religious society in the place of her residence. She was a good singer, and one of her amusements, as well as that of her travelling companions, was to teach the Doctor to sing, which she did with considerable success,—that is, he could sing the native songs without much difficulty." [1]

Mrs. Martha J. Lamb says:

"The voice of Miss Prentiss was of remarkable sweetness. She was a graceful blonde, stately and dignified in her bearing, without a particle of affectation. When preparing to leave for Oregon, the church held a farewell service and the minister gave out the well-known hymn:

" ' Yes, my native land, I love thee,
All thy scenes I love them well ;
Friends, connections, happy country,
Can I bid you all farewell ?'

[1] Gray, *Oregon*, p. 109.

"The whole congregation joined heartily in the singing, but before the hymn was half through, one by one they ceased singing, and audible sobs were heard in every part of the great audience. The last stanza was sung by the sweet voice of Mrs. Whitman alone, clear, musical, and unwavering." [1]

While Dr. Whitman was on the first exploring tour, Miss Prentiss wrote a letter to her friend, Mrs. Hull, wife of Rev. Leverett Hull, which throws light on the situation:

Beloved Sister Hull: As you requested, I have copied the greater part of my letters from the West, and send you. You are at liberty to make what use of them you think best, to promote the cause of missions. I received a letter last week from Rev. D. Clark, New York, which has greatly relieved my mind from that state of suspense in which it has long been laboring. I have sent it to Sister Judson, and requested her to give you the perusal of it. You will see that his heart, as our hearts, is on the Astoria mission. And now shall the mission be given up and our minds be diverted to another field? What can be the obstacles which the Board of Missions speak of? Is it want of funds or missionaries? Or is it for want of faith and prayer in the churches? Surely the obstacles cannot be with the Indians, when they have sent over to us and invited us to carry them the Word of Life. At times my mind labors excessively on this point, and I have been well-nigh crushed with an unsupportable load for want of strength to roll it upon the Lord. But I can say, notwithstanding the clouds of darkness that overshadow the future, and the obstacles that roll up before the mind like waves of the sea, that I am permitted to believe that a mission will be established there soon, at least before many years shall have passed away. There my mind rests, and I am sustained on the promise that "God will give the heathen to His Son for an inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." Will not the dear Christians in Angelica remember this Oregon mission at their monthly concert of prayer? It would rejoice my heart to be present with you next Monday. I want strength of faith to pray effectually for such mighty

[1] Mrs. Martha J. Lamb in the *Magazine of American History* for 1884.

objects, and union of hearts is strength. I cannot write you half I feel on the subject, nor need I. Adieu, dear Sister. Your Sister in the Lord,

(Signed) NARCISSA PRENTISS.

To Mrs. SARAH HULL, Angelica.

Dr. Whitman and Miss Prentiss were married early in the year 1836, by Rev. Leverett Hull, who had in the autumn previous become pastor of the village church in Angelica, at that time the home of Miss Prentiss. They were married in the church on Sabbath evening at the close of the service. The following account of the scene was recorded by an eye-witness:

"Dr. Marcus Whitman and Miss Narcissa Prentiss, two of the first missionaries sent out by the American Board beyond the Rocky Mountains, were united in marriage by the pastor, Rev. Leverett Hull. Some who were present could never describe without tears the circumstances, and especially the incident of the bride singing the missionary hymn in a strong, clear voice after all others had broken down with emotion."[1]

The venerable J. S. Seeley, of Aurora, Illinois, wrote in 1895:

"It was just fifty-nine years ago this March since I drove Dr. and Mrs. Whitman from Elmira, N. Y., to Hollidaysburg, Pa., in my sleigh. This place was at the foot of the Allegheny Mountains (east side) on the Pennsylvania Canal. The canal boats were built in two sections and were taken over the mountains on a railroad.

"They expected to find the canal open on the west side, and thus reach the Ohio River on the way to Oregon. I was with them some seven days. Dr. Whitman impressed me as a man of strong, sterling character and lots of push, but he was not a great talker. Mrs. Whitman was of medium size and impressed me as a woman of great resolution."[2]

[1] From a newspaper clipping. [2] Nixon, Whitman, p. 67.

From a younger sister of the bride, Mrs. H. P. Jackson, of Oberlin, Ohio, we have this account:

"Mrs. Whitman was the mentor of her younger sisters in the home. She joined the church when eleven years old, and from her early years expressed a desire to be a missionary. The wedding occurred in the church at Angelica, N. Y., to which place my father had removed, and the ceremony was performed by the Rev. Leverett Hull. I recollect how deeply interested the two Indian boys were in the ceremony, and how their faces brightened when the Doctor told them that Mrs. Whitman would go back with them to Oregon. We all had the greatest faith and trust in Dr. Whitman, and in all our letters from our dear sister there was never a word of regret or repining at the life she had chosen." [1]

The two couples, the Whitmans and the Spaldings, were now ready to start upon their long bridal tour. They took with them the Indian boys, who had been in school during the winter and had learned to read and to speak the English language fairly well.

Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding was a native of Bath, New York. He was graduated at the Western Reserve College and studied theology at the Lane Seminary, Cincinnati. He was now just past thirty years of age. William H. Gray describes him thus:

"A man with sharp features, large brown eyes, dark hair, high projecting forehead, with many wrinkles, and a head nearly bald. He was of medium size, stoop-shouldered, with a voice that can assume a mild, sharp, or boisterous key at the will of its owner. . . . As a writer or correspondent he was bold and rather eloquent, giving overdrawn life sketches of passing events. In his labors for the Indians he was zealous and persevering; in his preaching or talking to them plain or severe, and in his instructions wholly practical. . . . He taught the natives that God commanded them to work as well as to pray. Had he

[1] Nixon, *Whitman*, p. 68.

been allowed to continue his labors among the tribe undisturbed by sectarian and anti-religious influences, he would have effected great good and the tribe be now admitted as citizens of the United States. As a citizen and neighbor he was kind and obliging; to his family he was kind, yet severe in his religious observances. He was unquestionably a sincere, though not always humble, Christian. The loss of his wife and the exciting and savage massacre of his associates produced their effect upon him. Charity will find a substantial excuse for most of his faults, while virtue and truth, civilization and religion will award him a place as a faithful, zealous, and comparatively successful missionary." [1]

Mrs. Spalding is described in the following manner:

"Mrs. Spalding was the daughter of a plain, substantial farmer, by the name of Hart, of Oneida County, New York. She was above the medium height, slender in form, with coarse features, dark brown hair, blue eyes, rather dark complexion, coarse voice, of a serious turn of mind, and quick in understanding language. In fact she was remarkable in acquiring the Nez Percé language, so as to understand and converse with the natives quite easily by the time they reached their station at Lapwai. She could paint indifferently in water-colors, and had been taught, while young, all the useful branches of domestic life; could spin, weave, and sew, etc.; could prepare an excellent meal at short notice; was generally sociable, but not forward in conversation. . . . With the native women Mrs. Spalding always appeared easy and cheerful, and had their unbounded confidence and respect. She was remarkable for her firmness and decision of character in whatever she or her husband undertook. She never appeared to be alarmed or excited at any difficulty, dispute, or alarms common to the Indian life around her. She was considered by the Indian men as a brave, fearless woman, and was respected and esteemed by all." [2]

[1] Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 110, 11. [2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

A DOUBLE BRIDAL TOUR ACROSS THE CONTINENT

THE company which was now starting on the long journey westward consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, Mr. William H. Gray, two teamsters, and the two Indian boys, Richard and John. Mr. Gray was commissioned by the American Board to go with the missionaries as agent to manage the secular affairs of the mission. He was a young man, unmarried, from Utica, New York.

They went across Pennsylvania from Elmira, New York, to Pittsburg; then down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to Liberty Landing in Clay County. The party carried with them a full supply of goods supposed to be needful for a life more than two thousand miles from any possible base of supplies. They carried the material for a blacksmith shop, a plow, various kinds of seeds, and a supply of clothing calculated to last for two years. The party with their goods and chattels landed in Clay County, Missouri, three miles from the town of Liberty. There the supplies had to be overhauled, repacked, and loaded into two mission wagons and an extra one, hired to go as far as Fort Leavenworth. They crossed the river at Council Bluffs, and from that

point were under convoy of the caravan of the American Fur Company.

Up to this point they had been within the limits of civilized life. Now they were to strike out beyond the inhabited world. In front of them were no roads,—not even a track or a trail except the paths of the buffalo, and these always ran between the rivers and the mountains. The Fur Company had nineteen carts, each with two mules tandem, to carry their goods. With them was an English nobleman, Sir William Drummond, traveling under the alias of Captain Stewart, with an outfit of two wagons, two horses, four mules, drivers, and a servant to act as cook and waiter. The caravan altogether consisted of the nineteen carts of the Fur Company, one light Dearborn wagon, the Englishman's party, and the missionaries and their outfit.

How interesting it would be to watch this company on a day's march! In the morning the cattle and loose animals were driven in advance and at night they came up in the rear. The Fur Company's and Captain Stewart's wagons would start out in the morning following the cattle, and the missionary party would bring up the rear.

From Council Bluffs their route lay up the Platte River to the North Platte and onward to Fort Laramie, where they crossed the river. This task was accomplished by means of two dug-outs lashed together by sticks and poles, upon which they carried over the goods and the carts to the fort. They were now well up among the mountains, and here the Fur Company and Captain Stewart decided to leave all their wagons and carts, deeming it impossible to carry them through. Dr. Whitman, on the other hand, insisted

on taking his light wagon along. Finally the Fur Company decided to try the experiment of taking with them one of their carts. The abandoning of the wagons made it necessary to repack the baggage, and much of their supplies had to be left behind. What they took with them was put in packages, for the top packs fifty pounds each, for mules two hundred and fifty pounds, and for horses in proportion to their strength.

Now the mountain journey commenced. They started from Fort Laramie about the 6th of June. They had Whitman's wagon and the Company's cart; all the goods were on pack animals or in the wagon and the cart. Gray was in charge of the mission pack-train with two men and one boy, two pack animals to each; Mr. Spalding with the two Indian boys looked after the ladies, and the cows and loose animals; and Dr. Whitman had charge of the wagon train, that is, the Company's cart and his own wagon, with one man in the cart and one in the wagon. They followed up the river, first northwesterly and then southwesterly to Independence Rock.

Dr. Whitman had no small difficulty in exploring and locating the proper path for the wagons and in getting them safely over difficult places. One night he "came into the camp puffing and blowing, in good spirits, all right side up, with only one turn-over with the wagon and two with the cart." Since the cattle usually traveled slower than the train, they took an earlier start in the morning, but at noon they all rested together. In order to get across a branch of the Platte near Red Buttes, they killed several buffaloes, took their hides, and got willows to make frames for boats. They sewed the hides together to cover the frames, filled the

seams with tallow and, because of a severe rain just then, dried the skin boats over a fire. Upon these improvised rafts they carried over all their supplies and baggage.[1]

On Independence Day they were at the Divide, entering the South Pass. All this time Mrs. Spalding, who was totally unfit, from ill health, to be traveling in this primitive fashion, was growing weaker and weaker. On the morning of July 4th, she fainted and thought she was about to die. Mr. Spalding gives the following description :

"As they laid her on the ground, she said: 'Don't put me on that horse again. Leave me and save yourselves. Tell mother I am glad I came.' Soon, however, she revived, and a few hours later they saw the waters trickling westward towards the Pacific. And there — it was Independence Day six years before Fremont, following in the footsteps of these women, gained the name of the 'Pathfinder'—they alighted from their horses and kneeling on the other half of the continent, with the Bible in one hand and the American flag in the other, took possession of it as the home of American mothers and of the Church of Christ."[2]

Mr. George Ludington Weed, in writing of this impressive incident, says:—"The only human witnesses to this scene were the two Nez Percé lads, who had previously witnessed the Whitman wedding ceremony."

Mr. Gray gives a fine description of their journeyings, which our readers will surely thank us for quoting:

"With the company was a gentleman from St. Louis, a Major Pilcher. He usually rode a fine white mule, and

[1] See Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 116, 117.

[2] H. H. Spalding in the Chicago *Advance*, December 1, 1872.

was dressed in the top of hunting or mountain style, such as a fine buckskin coat, trimmed with red cloth and porcupine quills, fine red shirt, nice buckskin pants, and moccasins tinged and nicely trimmed; he was, in fact, very much of a gentleman in all his conversation and deportment. The Major was also considerable of a gallant (as I believe most titled gentlemen are). He was proceeding around one of those clay salt pits, and explaining to the ladies their nature and danger, when suddenly mule, Major, and all dropped out of sight, except the mule's ears and the fringe on the Major's coat. Instantly several men were on hand with ropes, and assisted the Major and mule out of the pit. Such a sight! You may imagine what you please, I will not attempt to describe it.

"However, no particular harm was done the Major, only the thorough saturation of his fine suit of buckskin and the mule, with that indescribably adhesive mud. He took it all in good part, and joined in the jokes on the occasion. No other remarkable incident occurred till we arrived at Rock Independence. On the south end of that rock nearly all the prominent persons of the party placed their names and date of being there.

"Later wagon trains and travelers have complained, and justly, of sage brush and the difficulties of this route. Whitman and his four men opened it as far as they could with a light wagon and a cart. To him must be given the credit of the first practical experiment, though Ashley, Bonneville, and Bridger had taken wagons into the Rocky Mountains and left them, and pronounced the experiment a failure and a wagon road impracticable. Whitman's perseverance demonstrated a great fact,—the practicability of a wagon road over the Rocky Mountains.

"You that have rolled over those vast plains and slept in your Concord coaches or Pullman palace cars, have never once imagined the toil and labor of that old off-hand pioneer, as he mounted his horse in the morning and rode all day in the cold or heat of the mountains and plains, to prove that a wagon road was practicable to the waters of the Columbia River. Even Fremont, six years after, claims to be the discoverer of the passes through which Whitman took his cart and wagon, and kept up with the pack-train from day to day.

"After this the health of Mrs. Spalding seemed gradually

to decline. She was placed in the wagon as much as would relieve her, and changed from wagon to saddle as she could bear, till they arrived at the American rendezvous on Green River.

"From Rock Independence information was sent forward into the mountains of the arrival of the caravan, and about the time and place they expected to reach the rendezvous. This information reached not only the American trappers and hunters in the mountains, but the Snake, Bannock, Nez Percé, and Flathead tribes, and the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. Two days before we arrived at our rendezvous, about two hours before we reached camp, the whole caravan was alarmed by the arrival of some ten Indians and four or five white men, whose dress and appearance could scarcely be distinguished from that of the Indians. As they came in sight over the hills, they all gave a yell, such as hunters and Indians only can give; whiz! whiz! came their balls over our heads, and on they came, in less time than it will take you to read this account. The alarm was but for a moment; our guide had seen a white cloth on one of their guns, and said, 'Don't be alarmed, they are friends,' and sure enough, in a moment here they were. It was difficult to tell which was the more crazy, the horse or the rider; such hopping, hooting, running, jumping, yelling, jumping sage brush, whirling around, for they could not stop to reload their guns, but all of us as they came on gave them a salute from ours, as they passed to the rear of our line and back again, hardly stopping to give the hand to any one. On to camp we went.

"At night, who should we find but old Takkensuitas and Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats (Lawyer), with a letter from Mr. Parker, which informed the party that he had arrived safely at Walla Walla, and that the Indians had been kind to him, and from what he had seen and could learn of them, they were well disposed towards all white men. Mr. Parker, as his journal of that trip and observations will show, was a man of intelligence, and a close observer of men and things.

"He soon learned, on arriving at Walla Walla, that there was a bitter anti-American feeling in the country, and that, notwithstanding he had arrived in it uninvited, and without the aid of the *Honorable* Hudson's Bay Company, he was in it, nevertheless, as the guest of the Nez Percé Indians.

They had found him in the Rocky Mountains; they brought him to Walla Walla; they had received him, treated him kindly, and proved to him that they were not only friendly, but anxious to have the American influence and civilization come among them.

"Rev. Jason Lee and party were in the country. Abundance of unasked advice had been given to him by Hudson's Bay Company's men; his caution prevailed; he was to let Dr. Whitman, or the mission party that might be sent across the mountains, hear from him by the Indians. Feeling certain that any advice or information he might attempt to communicate to his missionary friends would in all probability be made use of to their detriment, and perhaps destroy the mission itself, he did not deem it prudent to write or to give any advice. Should any party come on before he could reach them, his note was sufficient to inform them of the fact of his safe arrival and the friendly treatment he had received from the Indians; farther than this he did not feel safe to communicate—not for want of confidence in the Indians, but from what he saw and learned of the feelings of the Hudson's Bay Company. Yet he felt that, notwithstanding they were showing him outwardly every attention, they evidently did not wish to see the American influence increase in any shape in the country.

"Rev. Mr. Parker's letter, short and unsatisfactory as it was, caused considerable expression of unpleasant feeling on the part of those who considered they had a right to a more full and extended communication. But Mr. Parker was at Vancouver, or somewhere else; they might and they might not meet him; he may and he may not have written more fully.

"At supper time old Takkensuitas (Rotten Belly) and Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats were honored with a place at the missionary board. . . . I will give you the bill of fare on this memorable occasion. Place—by the side of a muddy stream called Sandy, about thirty miles south of Windy River Mountain [now known as Fremont's Peak]. This mountain, you will remember, is about as near the highest point of the North American continent as can be. This fact is established, not from geographical or barometrical observations, but from the simple fact that water runs from it by way of the Missouri, Colorado, and Columbia rivers

into the eastern, southern, and western oceans, and but a short distance to the north of this mountain commences the waters of the Saskatchewan River, running into Hudson's Bay and the northern ocean.[1] There are doubtless many other mountains whose peaks ascend higher into the clouds, but none of them are so decidedly on top of the continent as this one. Of course our little party is in a high altitude, and in sight of this mountain, which may or may not have been ten thousand feet higher to its snow-capped peak.

"Date—about the 20th day of July, 1836. Our table was the grass beside this muddy stream; cloth—an old broken oilcloth badly used up; plates—when the company started were called tin, but from hard usage were iron in all shapes; cups—ditto; knives—the common short-bladed wooden-handled butcher knife; forks—a stick each cut to suit himself, or, if he preferred the primitive mode of conveying his food to its proper destination, he was at liberty to practice it; food extra on this occasion—a nice piece of roast buffalo meat, roasted upon a stick before the fire, seasoned with a little salt, with a full proportion of sand and dirt. On this occasion tea, with sugar, was used; the supply of bread was limited; we will not trouble the reader with an extra list of dessert."[2]

Just beyond the Divide was the rendezvous where the caravan of the Fur Company stopped. Rough mountaineers were there who had not even seen a white woman since they left the homes of their childhood. Some of them wept as they took these women by the hand,—the first white women that ever crossed the Rocky Mountains. "From that day," said one of these rough pioneers, "I was a better man." The Indians also came with a warm greeting. Mr. Spalding, in speaking of the scene many years after, said of these Indians:

"They were the happiest men you ever saw. Their women took possession of Mrs. Spalding, and the gladness they showed, not less than the biscuit and the trout with which

[1] This is evidently an error. The upper waters of the Saskatchewan are a long way north of this place. [2] Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 117–120.

they fed her, revived her spirit, so that from that hour she began to mend; and from that hour her future and theirs were one." [1]

There were Americans at the rendezvous who knew what this transportation of women across the mountains meant, who knew its significance, who could foresee results. One old trapper exclaimed: "*There* is something which the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company cannot get rid of. They cannot send these women out of the country. They have come to stay." [1] It was a prophecy. No truer word was ever spoken. They had come to stay, and the Americans were to stay. Their journey across the mountains was the first link in the chain of events which finally bound Oregon to our country with indissoluble bonds, although the result was not reached till years later.

Their journey was only half done. Who would conduct them down the western slope of the mountains, which really was the more difficult portion of the way? Fortunately, an English trading party soon appeared at the rendezvous, which was an unusual happening, and with them they completed the trip. They had left civilization on our western frontiers, May 21st, and on the 2d of September they reached the Columbia. Mr. Spalding says:

"They were now at home amid a nation that had no homes. They found a resting-place among restless wanderers. But faith had become sight. The first battle had been fought and won. White women had come safely over the mountains. Cattle and horses had been kept secure from the Indian raiders. A wagon had been brought through,—'the first wheel that had ever pressed the sage.' Whitman had demonstrated to himself that an emigration could cross from Missouri to Oregon; and when, seven years afterwards, he led a company of a thousand along

[1] Rev. H. H. Spalding in the Chicago *Advance*, December 1, 1870.

the same track, he demonstrated it to the world and gained Oregon, and with it California, to the United States." [1]

Mr. Gray writes thus :

"It is due to Dr. Whitman to say that notwithstanding this was the most difficult route we had to travel, yet he persevered with his old wagon, without any particular assistance; from Soda Springs to Fort Hall his labor was immense, yet he overcame every difficulty and brought it safely through. I have thrice since traveled the same route, and confess I cannot see how he did it, notwithstanding I was with him, and know he brought the wagon through. . . .

"At Fort Hall we had another overhauling and lightening of baggage. The Doctor was advised to take his wagon apart and pack it, if he calculated to get it through the terrible cañons and deep, bottomless creeks we must pass in going down Snake Plains. . . . He made a cart on two of the wheels, placed the axletree and the other two wheels on his cart, and about the 1st of August, 1836, our camp was again in motion. As we reached camp on Portneuf the first night, in passing a bunch of willows, Mrs. Spalding's horse, a kind and perfectly gentle animal, was stung by a wasp, causing him to spring to one side. Mrs. Spalding lost her balance; her foot hung fast in the stirrup; the horse made but a single bound from the sting of the wasp, and stopped still till Mrs. Spalding was relieved from what appeared almost instant death. . . .

"At Fort Boise, McLeod and McKay, and all the Johnny Crapauds of the company, united in the opinion that it was impossible to get the Doctor's cart any farther without taking it all apart and bending the iron tires on the wheels, and packing it in par-fleshes (the dried hide of the buffalo, used as an outside covering for packs), and in that way we might get it through, if the animals we packed it upon did not fall with it from the precipices over which we must pass. IMPOSSIBLE to get it through any other way. After several consultations, and some very decided expressions against any further attempt to take the wagon farther, a compromise was made, that, after the party had reached their permanent location, the Doctor or Mr. Gray would return with the Hudson's Bay Company's caravan and get

[1] Rev. H. H. Spalding in the Chicago *Advance*, December 1, 1870.

the wagon and bring it through. To this proposition the Doctor consented. The wagon was left, to the great advantage of the Hudson's Bay Company in removing their timber and material to build their new fort, as was contemplated, that and the following seasons.[1]

"All our goods were placed upon the tallest horses we had, and led across. Mrs. Spalding and Mrs. Whitman were ferried over on a bullrush raft, made by the Indians for crossing. The tops of the rushes were tied with grass ropes, and spread and so arranged that, by lying quite flat upon the rushes and sticks they were conveyed over in safety. Portions of our clothing and goods, as was expected, came in contact with the water, and some delay caused to dry and repack. This attended to, the party proceeded on the present wagon trail till they reached the Grande Ronde; thence they ascended the mountain on the west side of the main river, passed over into a deep cañon, through thick timber, ascended the mountain, and came out to the Umatilla, not far from the present wagon route.

"As the party began to descend from the western slope of the Blue Mountains, the view was surpassingly grand. Before us lay the great valley of the Columbia; on the west, and in full view, Mount Hood rose amid the lofty range of the Cascade Mountains, ninety miles distant. To the south of Mount Hood stood Mount Adams, and to the north, Mount Rainier; while, with the assistance of Mr. McKay, we could trace the course of the Columbia, and determine the location of Walla Walla. It was quite late in the evening before we reached camp on the Umatilla, being delayed by our cattle, their feet having become worn and tender in passing over the sharp rocks, there being but little signs of a trail where we passed over the Blue Mountains in 1836."[2]

Dr. Whitman located at Waiilatpu (Wy-ee-lat-poo), near Walla Walla. Mr. Spalding made his home one hundred and twenty miles to the eastward up the Clearwater River, among the Nez Percés. They found a people without hoe, or plow, or hoof of

[1] Later this wagon was taken through to Waiilatpu.

[2] See Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 131–141.

cattle. They had brought a quart of wheat[1] with them, as the Astor party twenty-five years before had carried with them around Cape Horn twelve potatoes.[2] Eleven years afterwards they harvested between twenty thousand and thirty thousand bushels of grain. Their few cows, meanwhile, had multiplied into numerous herds; gardens and orchards were planted; and the sheep, which the English residents had denied them but which the Sandwich Islanders gave, had increased into large flocks. Mrs. Spalding's school numbered five hundred Indian pupils, and a church of a hundred members had been gathered.

The first printing-press ever operated west of the mountains had been presented to the mission by the native church at Honolulu. Upon this press — the type-setting, press work, and binding being done by the missionaries' own hands—were printed a few school books, the native code of laws, a small collection of hymns, and the Gospel of Matthew.[3] These school books were given, without pay, freely to the Indians.

[1] Dr. Eells says they must have obtained wheat seed from the Hudson's Bay Company.

[2] Franchère, in his narrative of the Astoria settlement, says: "In the month of May, 1811, on a rich piece of land in front of our establishment at Astoria, we put into the ground twelve potatoes, so shriveled up during the passage from New York that we despaired of raising any from the few sprouts that still showed signs of life. Nevertheless, we raised one hundred and ninety potatoes the first season, and after sparing a few plants to our inland traders we planted fifty or sixty hills, which produced five bushels the second year. About two bushels of these were planted, which gave us a welcome crop of fifty bushels in the year 1813."

[3] Dr. Eells told the writer that this press was brought from the Sandwich Islands by Edwin O. Hall, assistant secular superintendent of the mission at the Sandwich Islands. He could set type and did this first work upon the press in Oregon.

Let us see now what other tendencies were at work. While Dr. Whitman was very active at Waiilatpu in dispensing medicine, attending the sick, establishing a gristmill, and in other pioneer enterprises, the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company were improving their opportunities to strengthen themselves and to weaken the power and influence of the American missionaries.

At Fort Vancouver they had dismissed the Church of England chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Beaver, and his wife, who had been sent over from the home government at London, and had substituted several Catholic priests. These priests were now located at Vancouver, and visited the several principal stations of the Company. It soon became evident to Dr. Whitman that the Hudson's Bay Company and the priests had determined that this country should fall into the hands of Great Britain, or rather of the Hudson's Bay Company. All their policy was shaped to that end.

Sir George Simpson and others, persons of influence connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, both in this country and in England were industriously circulating the report that the mountains were impassable to wagons, that women and children could never cross the rocky barrier that walled off Oregon from the United States, and that hence this section was valueless to our country. These reports were spread among the hardy pioneers upon the borders of Missouri and vicinity, who were thereby deterred from attempting an overland journey across the mountains. Every effort had been made in diplomatic negotiations to induce us to give up our claims to the territory; and all the time the Hudson's Bay Company was active in retiring its servants upon farms in this country and in bringing immigrants from the Red River and Canada.

Whitman's station at Waiilatpu was among the Cayuse Indians; Spalding at Lapwai was with the Nez Percés. Here they began their missionary labors. They built houses, which must necessarily be adobe or of logs. They fenced pastures for their cattle, and began at once the cultivation of the ground. Mr. Gray, as manager of their business affairs, had his hands full. He spent a portion of his time with Dr. Whitman and the rest with Mr. Spalding.

CHAPTER V

MR. GRAY'S JOURNEY TO THE STATES

IN December, 1836, when the affairs of the two stations were settled and in good running order, it was decided that Mr. Gray should go east for reënforcements. Frank Ermatinger, a fur trader, and his son, a lad of ten or twelve years, were about to cross the mountains farther north, and Mr. Gray determined to accompany them. They purchased their supplies at Fort Vancouver. Their route was up the north branch of the Columbia, across the Cœur d'Alene Lake in boats, and so onward to a trading post near the present city of Helena. Here Gray rested and prepared for his long journey. He bought twenty or thirty horses and hired an Iroquois Indian to go with him, to help in caring for the horses and to act as interpreter with the Indians. Ermatinger wished to send his son east, and Gray undertook the charge. Two young men who wished to go to the States also joined the party. There were, besides, three friendly Flatheads and a Snake Indian.

Starting from the trading post, the party went in a southerly direction to Fort Hall, following nearly the present track of the railroad, past the places where now are situated Butte City and Dillon.[1] They had

[1] This description of Gray's route is as nearly correct as the author can make it from notes taken from Mr. Gray's own words.

no serious adventures on this almost untraveled section of their journey. From Fort Hall, Mr. Gray retraced his steps of the previous year through the South Pass, down the Sweetwater and North Platte rivers towards civilization.

They were well through the Rocky Mountains without having experienced any difficulty from the Indians. Their only serious adventure came after they had nearly passed the foothills on the eastern slope of the range. They were then in the country of the Sioux, and one day they were attacked by a large band of Sioux warriors. Up to this time Mr. Gray had been a peace man. He did not believe in fighting Indians. While his companions were protecting themselves behind the carcasses of horses which had been shot by the Indians, Mr. Gray deliberately walked out upon a small hillock, waving a white handkerchief as a flag of truce. He was greatly surprised at the result of his peace movement. The Indians deliberately aimed their muskets at him and fired. He was a fair target, within easy rifle shot, and he barely escaped death. One bullet went through the top of his soft felt hat, just grazing his head. He immediately sprang back to cover and seizing a musket, opened rapid fire upon the Indians. He was a peace man no longer.

They were so largely outnumbered that the interpreter advised Gray and his party to surrender as the only chance of saving their lives. The fight had continued for three hours, during which all of his friendly Indians had been killed. Reluctantly,—for Gray was a bold man,—he felt compelled to follow the advice and surrender. The Indians took them prisoners with their horses and effects, and carried them to the

camp. What must have been the reflections of these men entirely in the hands of their captors, and those captors savage Sioux Indians! The next day a full explanation was had of the whole affair. The chief interrogated them, inquiring who they were, where they were from, whither going, for what purpose, why they were in the Indian country. With his utmost shrewdness and adroit skill, Mr. Gray gave his answers through the interpreter. He told him that they were the friends of the Indian race, and had come across the mountains from the place of the sunset, where he had gone to instruct the Indians how they should live in order to be happy here and reach the happy hunting grounds hereafter. He made it clear that they were not trappers or hunters, but were merely traveling through the Indian country to get other teachers to come back with them to instruct the Indians in the way of life. The chief listened to all these statements with evident interest, and, Mr. Gray thought, with some sympathy. At last he announced his decision. Their lives were to be spared, and they were permitted to go on. As a conqueror, he exacted from the conquered party an indemnity. He proposed to retain all their best horses, but the prisoners were to be permitted to take their muskets and three rounds of ammunition each.

With words of good will this Sioux chief bade his prisoners depart and take care of themselves. In what a plight did they find themselves! On poor horses, with only their muskets and three rounds of ammunition, with scarcely four days' rations, perhaps three weeks from the nearest American fort, and still in the Indian country! But they pushed on bravely, using their ammunition carefully, availing themselves of

what roots and herbs they could find, and traveling nights and during storms to avoid the Indians. In twenty-one days they reached Council Bluffs. Their necessities were relieved, and they soon continued their journey to St. Louis and the east.

Now let us observe Mr. Gray as he reached his mother's home. It is just at nightfall as he, solitary and alone, wends his way to the house. His mother is in the kitchen. He looks through the unshuttered window and by the light of the candle sees her flitting back and forth preparing the evening meal. He raps at the door; she opens it and asks what is wanted. At first she does not recognize her son, but when he speaks, she remembers the voice and welcomes him home.

The mother and son embrace, and soon the evening meal is ready. How proud she is of her manly son! With great delight she listens to the stories of his two long journeys. How interested she is in the account which he gives of the work of the Indian missions! But he cuts short his visit, for he is anxious and impatient to make another call this evening.

From his mother's house he finds his way to the home of his betrothed. How rapidly the words flow! How many questions the mother has to ask! Mr. Gray is wearing the same hat which served him in the journey over the mountains, in which are two bullet holes made by the Sioux Indians. The mother observes these holes and inquires the cause for them. When she learns that he came so near losing his life in a skirmish with Indians, she at once says that she cannot allow her daughter to venture upon such a dangerous journey as a trip to the Columbia Valley evidently would be.

The engagement was broken off, but Mr. Gray was

a resolute man, ready to make the best of the circumstances. He took his departure, doubtless with the thought that if this young lady would not cross the Rocky Mountains, some other could be found to accompany him.[1]

Now was the time for activity among his friends. One after another, the eligible young ladies in the vicinity were recommended to him. None of them, however, attracted the favorable attention of the young missionary. Again and again he went on what he afterwards styled as "a fool's errand." At length an intimate friend, a young man with whom he had been well acquainted for years, told him of a young lady who, he thought, had all the requisite qualifications. He described her mental and moral qualities, and finally invited Mr. Gray to go with him and see her.

They made but a short call on the young lady and her mother, yet it was long enough for him to give some description of the Oregon country and of the work in which he was engaged. He had also used his powers of observation, and a few days later he was inclined to call again of his own accord. After perhaps half an hour's conversation, being a straightforward business man and not much inclined to formalities, he somewhat abruptly inquired of the young lady: "Will you go over the mountains with me?"

However sudden the question may have seemed to her, she finally replied:

"If Mrs. Spalding could stand the journey, I think I could."

It was Saturday evening, and they must be ready to

[1] This account of Mr. Gray's meeting his mother and of the interview with the young lady was given to the writer by Mr. Gray.

start a week from the following Monday. The outfit had to be selected with great care, for it cost fully a dollar a pound in those days to transport goods to the Columbia.

It may well be supposed that the week following this conversation was a very busy one for a number of persons. Sunday, February 25, 1838, came all too soon for their preparations. The wedding was to be in the evening, at the Presbyterian church in Ithaca, New York. The bride usually sang in the choir, but on this occasion she sat in the front pew with Mr. Gray. The house was filled to overflowing. At the close of the service the minister came down from the pulpit, the couple arose, and the marriage ceremony proceeded, by which Mr. William H. Gray and Miss Mary Augusta Dix, daughter of John Dix, Esq., of Champlain, New York, were made man and wife. It is surely proper to say just here that this singular marriage proved a successful one, and that for nearly forty-four years they lived happily together. Mr. Gray in his subsequent life came east twice,— in 1852, and again in 1885. His wife never again saw her eastern home. She died at Olney, near the mouth of the Columbia River, in Oregon, December 8, 1881.

CHAPTER VI

A TRIPLE BRIDAL TOUR ACROSS THE CONTINENT

MR. GRAY'S representations to the Missionary Board in Boston had been such as to induce them to send additional missionaries. Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker, two young men not yet married, were under appointment by the Board as missionaries to South Africa, but war among the Zulus prevented their going. The secretary of the Board asked them if they were willing to change their destination and go to Oregon, and they consented. Later the services of Rev. A. B. Smith and his wife, of Connecticut, were secured.

Mr. Walker was from North Yarmouth, Maine, and on the 5th of March, 1838, he was married to Miss Mary Richardson. On the same day Mr. Eells was married to Miss Myra Fairbank, of Holden, Massachusetts. She was the daughter of Deacon Joshua Fairbank of Holden, and had received her education at a ladies' seminary in Wethersfield, Connecticut. While Mr. Eells was pursuing his studies, he taught school at one time in Holden, and there became acquainted with Miss Fairbank. Before their marriage, Mr. Eells asked her if she was willing to become a missionary. Her reply was characteristic of her decision of character and Christian consecration. She

said, "I doubt whether you could have asked any one who would have been more willing."

Gray was married a week earlier than Eells and Walker. He started on his journey the day after the wedding, one week in advance of the others. His route was from Ithaca to New York by stage-coach, from New York to Perth Amboy by steamboat, by rail to Camden, thence to Washington, D. C., from there to Hagerstown, Maryland, thence by stage to Wheeling, Virginia, and from there to Cincinnati by boat. At Cincinnati he purchased the outfit for his party. From Cincinnati he went by boat down the Ohio and the Mississippi, and up the Missouri to Independence.

Let us follow a little more minutely the route taken by Mr. and Mrs. Eells. We have seen that they were married March 5, 1838, in Holden, Massachusetts. Deacon Fairbank, Mrs. Eells's father, carried them the next day in a sleigh to Worcester. From Worcester they went in a stage "on runners all day long through the mud," to East Windsor Hill, Connecticut, where Mr. Eells had studied theology. They journeyed from East Windsor Hill to Hartford by carriage, from Hartford to New Haven by stage, and from New Haven to New York by steamer. At New York they met Mr. and Mrs. Walker, and on Sunday, March 18, the two couples received their instructions as missionaries from Rev. David Greene, secretary of the Board, in the old brick church of which Dr. Gardiner Spring was pastor. After the instructions by Secretary Greene, Dr. Spring delivered an address, and Secretary Armstrong made the concluding prayer.

The next day the party was joined by Rev. Mr. Smith and wife, who had been delayed on their

journey to New York. The three couples left New York on Tuesday, March 20th, and went by steamer to Perth Amboy, to Camden by rail, and from Philadelphia to Chambersburg by rail. At that time Chambersburg was the farthest point of the railroad towards the west. From Chambersburg over the mountains to Pittsburg, their conveyance was by stage, and from Pittsburg a steamboat took them down the Ohio to Cincinnati.

"At Cincinnati the question of traveling on the Sabbath while crossing the continent came seriously before them. The advice of Dr. Lyman Beecher was asked. He said substantially that if he were in a ship on the ocean, when Saturday night should come he should not jump overboard."[1]

Here they were joined by Mr. Cornelius Rogers, a young man who went as an independent missionary; but after his arrival in Oregon he was appointed an assistant missionary. From Cincinnati their course was by steamer down the Ohio and the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Independence Landing. A few miles on horseback took them to Westport where the caravan was to start; for they were to cross the continent, at least as far as the general rendezvous, under the escort of the American Fur Company. Here they found Mr. and Mrs. Gray waiting for them.

Now the entire missionary party was together,—Rev. Cushing Eells and wife, Rev. Elkanah Walker and wife, Rev. A. B. Smith and wife, William H. Gray and wife, and Mr. Cornelius Rogers. The caravan moved from Westport on April 22d, Sunday. The missionaries did not quite like to start on the Lord's Day; hence they waited until Monday morning

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, p. 39.

to begin their journey of two thousand miles across the plains and through the mountains. They did not overtake the caravan until the next Saturday night.

We will not follow this missionary band in its itinerary as we did Whitman and Spalding two years before, especially as we shall be obliged to trace carefully the journey of the emigrants who went over five years later. A few incidents, however, deserve notice. Let us here quote from the journal of Mrs. Eells a full description of their manner of journeying:

"Almost as soon as our tents were pitched Captains Drips and Stevens called on us and had a social talk. The former had command of the caravan, and the latter was an English gentleman traveling for pleasure. We gave them some biscuit and cheese. They appeared pleasant, though they said we had better travel by ourselves, either before or behind camp, as they should keep their animals guarded nights, and it might not be convenient for our men to stand guard. Mr. Gray told them that his men expected to stand guard. They seemed to think each company had better take care of their own horses. This gives us to understand that they do not want us to travel with them. However, Mr. Gray did not mean to take the hint as he knew it would not be safe for us to travel alone; and he insisted on a due proportion of the guarding being assigned to us.

"Indians are on every side of us. They come around our tents to watch us like great dogs. Our dog grabbed one who was nearly naked. Mr. Eells called him off, whipped him, and then tied him.

"Will God give me grace, wisdom, knowledge, and strength equal to my day; make me useful in life, happy in death and in eternity? Mr. Eells is so tired that he says a bed of stones would feel soft.

"The American Fur Company had its headquarters at St. Louis and sent a caravan to the Rocky Mountains every year to gather the furs obtained by their trappers and to buy others from free trappers and Indians. This was as far as they were allowed to go, the Hudson's Bay Company having complete control of the fur trade west of those mountains. To pay for these furs, the company carried

out goods which consisted principally of blankets, garments, whiskey, and tobacco. This year they had about two hundred horses and mules and seventeen carts, each drawn by two mules tandem, except the cart of Captain Drips, the commander, which was drawn by three mules. Captain Stevens had a six-mule wagon. The missionaries had twenty-two horses and mules, and for a time one wagon. This was taken so that for the first part of the way the ladies might be carried in it at times, and rest from horseback riding until thoroughly accustomed to it. In the whole procession were about sixty men. The wagons were all covered with dark oilcloth.

"During the night five men were on guard and five were on guard during the day. To make it easy, the night guard changed three times in the night, which gave about two hours and a half to each man, and each man was on guard every fourth night and one day in every twelve. At night the wagons were arranged in a circle, into which all the horses and mules were brought and picketed. At half-past three they were let loose to feed outside the circle until six, when they were harnessed and packed for traveling. This took half or three quarters of an hour. Every man had to know and do his own work. Mr. Walker had one horse for himself and one for his wife to ride, and one to pack. Mr. Rogers had three, one to ride and two to pack. Mr. Gray had three, two for riding and one for the wagon of which he had charge. Mr. Stevens, the packer, had four, one for riding and three for packing, and Mr. Eells four, two for riding and two for packing. These they were to catch morning, noon, and night. Before starting every man put on his belt, powder-flask, knife, and the like, and took his gun on his horse before him. This done, they rode from three to six hours. Once they rode nine hours without stopping. The wagons moved first, then the pack animals and cattle, the missionaries taking twelve of the latter. The ladies rode sometimes behind all and sometimes between the wagons and pack animals. Messrs. Walker and Smith drove the cattle; Messrs. Stevens, Rogers, and Eells the mules, and Mr. Gray the wagon. . .

"We generally stop about two hours at noon, turn out the animals, get our dinners and eat; then we wash the dishes again, the men catch the animals and pack them. We mount our horses and are riding over the rolling prairies,

over high bluffs, through deep ravines and rivers, but through no woods. At night, when our animals are unpacked, the gentlemen pitch our tents. We spread our buffalo skins first, and then a piece of oilcloth for our floor. Then we neatly arrange our saddles and other loose baggage around the inside of our house. For our chairs we fold our blankets and lay them around, leaving a circle in the center upon which we spread a tablecloth when we eat. In the morning we get up at half-past three, and turn the animals out to eat; then we get our breakfast, eat, and have worship. After this we wash and pack our dishes; our husbands catch the animals, saddle the horses, and pack the mules. When we are fairly on our way we have much the appearance of a large funeral procession. I suppose the company reaches half a mile.

"As the horses and mules were gathered, preparatory to being driven into the Kansas River to swim across, the order came: 'Tie up the trail ropes.' Mr. Eells obeyed. Ignorantly he wound the rope around the neck of his wife's riding animal, which was rather treacherous. When it landed on the opposite side it realized its liberty and refused to be caught. After fruitless attempts to catch it, as a last resort application was made to the hunter for help. He proposed the plan of 'nicking' it, that is, of shooting a rifle ball through the upper part of the neck in such a manner as to stun and drop the animal for a few minutes, but not to injure it. When the two, however, found the animal, which by that time had gone out of sight and quite a distance from the rest, to their surprise it was quite willing to be caught. The rope had become so tight around the neck as to tame it. The unskilful manner in which it had been wound around had turned to good account, and Mr. Eells felt that 'the lot was cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord'; for the loss of that animal at that time would have been very embarrassing.

"Mr. Gray had estimated that four hundred miles would bring them to the buffalo country, and food, especially flour, was taken accordingly; but the buffaloes were not found as expected, and the rations became short, so short that when they were found not much food was left, only flour enough for gravy. It was buffalo, buffalo, buffalo all the time. The sudden change to green buffalo meat morning, noon, and night, did not, however, agree with Mr.

Eells. It soon sickened him. When he was at East Windsor planning for the journey, his kind pupils had said: 'Now what can we do for you?' He replied: 'Please make me two rich cakes, so rich and nice that I can put them in my trunk and carry them across the continent, and keep them until I shall need them.' This was done. When he was suffering from so much buffalo meat he would dissolve a little of that cake in water and drink it. This was the only food for which he had any relish for a long time. For this he was more grateful than words could express, and with unwonted emotion he wrote: 'God bless those young persons who prepared those cakes.'

"The party had tin plates for eating purposes, but some had small earthen cups for drinking. When Mr. Ermatinger, of the Hudson's Bay Company, saw these during the latter part of the journey, he said: 'Take away your little earthen cups. They gave me one of the little things and I swallowed it right down with its contents.' He wanted a tin cup that would hold several times as much as the earthen ones.

"There was a fright or two from Indians; that is, Indians were discovered, and everybody was required to have his rifle ready. Mr. Eells never loaded his, though it was loaded once or twice for him by others. There were no encounters, however, nor serious trouble with them."[1]

When they had reached the Rocky Mountains, a singular circumstance occurred which seriously threatened to cut short their journey and even to send them back to the States. We will let Myron Eells tell the story:

"It was the intention to come thus far with the American Fur Company, then at this rendezvous to meet the Hudson's Bay Company, who were to escort them the rest of the way. But that year the Fur Company had become vexed at the Hudson's Bay Company, and instead of meeting them as usual, went to a new place a hundred and fifty miles north. The usual rendezvous was on the Green River, a branch of the Colorado; but this year it was on the Popoazua, a branch of the Wind River.

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, pp. 44–49.

"In passing east the year before, Mr. Gray had said to Mr. Frank Ermatinger, of the Hudson's Bay Company, that he expected to bring a party out the next year; and as Mr. Gray had favored Mr. Ermatinger, the latter intended to meet the party at the old rendezvous. But when Mr. Ermatinger arrived no party or trace of one was to be found. The American Fur Company were about through with trading, and were ready to return east in a day or two. It was unsafe for the missionaries to proceed alone. They found a party of trappers going to California. They must either return east or go with this party to California and attempt to make their way thence to Oregon. They had about half determined on the latter course when Providence favored them. Some one who was somewhat friendly to the missionaries, either Dr. Robert Newell, an independent trapper, or a half-breed named Black Harris, who had learned of this rendezvous of the American Fur Company, had with charcoal written on the old storehouse door: 'Come to Popoazua on Wind River and you will find plenty trade, whisky, and white women.' The words 'white women,' told them what was meant, and Mr. Ermatinger went immediately there, arriving only four days before the company was ready to start on their return to the States. With him were Rev. Jason Lee and Mr. P. L. Edwards, of the Methodist Mission, who were on their return east for reinforcements. They brought the welcome intelligence that Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding had sent fresh horses and provisions to Fort Hall for them. 'This,' Mrs. Eells wrote, 'at first almost overcame us. We felt that the God of missions had foreseen our wants and seasonably supplied them beyond our expectations.'" [1]

Here the American Fur Company's caravan returned. With their new escort the missionaries started onward from the Wind River encampment on the 12th of July, having a company of about twenty men. Two days later they were on the backbone of America, within the South Pass. They reached Fort Hall the 27th of July, and on August 29th, after riding thirty miles that day (seven hours), they arrived at Dr. Whit-

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, pp. 57, 58.

man's house. Mrs. Eells gives an interesting description of Whitman's place and how the new surroundings appeared to her. Regarding the house, she writes:

"It is of adobe, mud dried in the form of brick, only larger. I cannot describe its appearance, as I cannot compare it with anything I ever saw. There are doors and windows, but they are of the roughest material, the boards being sawed by hand and put together by no carpenter, but by one who knows nothing about the work. There are a number of wheat, corn, and potato fields about the house, besides a garden of melons and all kinds of vegetables common to a garden. There are no fences, there being no timber of which to make them. The furniture is very primitive: the bedsteads are of boards nailed to the side of the house, sink-fashion; then some blankets and husks make the bed; but it is good compared with traveling accommodations." [1]

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, p. 62.

CHAPTER VII

OREGON SIXTY YEARS AGO

IT should be constantly kept in mind that the Oregon country of that period included what are now the three states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the western portion of Montana, and the southwestern corner of Wyoming. At the time of Gray's return to Oregon in 1838, there were only fifty Americans in that entire country. The population of that region is now nearly, if not quite, one million souls. Mr. Parker estimated the number of Indians in that section in 1835 to be not far from one hundred thousand. The number at the present time is probably less than twenty thousand.

Traveling in Oregon sixty years ago was almost entirely in boats upon the rivers or on horseback. All goods were transported by these means. The houses were either adobe or log cabins. During the first period of Dr. Eells's residence at his station, his house had only earth for a floor and pine boughs for a roof. A bear skin was fastened up over the bed to prevent the rain sifting through at night. After a time earth was thrown upon the pine boughs on the roof and more pine boughs placed on top of the earth. They had no window glass, but cotton cloth was used instead. Myron Eells says that they had but one chair

during the first ten years, and that four stakes driven into the ground, with three boards, each three feet long, fastened on top of them, made their table—these boards having been brought one hundred and fifty miles. All cooking was done over an open fire. During the first years their principal meat was horse flesh. They had no matches, but obtained their fire by flint and steel.

They usually received mail from the States once a year, after a time twice a year. Sometimes it would take more than a year for a letter written from the east to reach its destination. For example, Mrs. Eells received in July, 1843, a letter from her sister in Massachusetts, which was written in September, 1841; another letter written by the same sister in December, 1844, was not received until April, 1847. Dr. Eells gives a graphic account of going to the post office in those early days. It was not a post office, but a way station or an improvised letter box. He says:

"With our limited facilities the annual autumnal passage of the brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company from the east of the mountains down the Columbia was an important event. Its arrival at Fort Colville was to be prepared for. Thus an opportunity was afforded for the conveyance of letters to Vancouver, and thence *via* the Sandwich Islands to Boston. I had written and arranged with an Indian to accompany and assist me in conveying the mails, and in conveying supplies from the fort. In vain I looked for the arrival, according to promise, of the needed helper. The morning hours passed. According to our measurement 11 A.M. was nearing. The idea of not forwarding what I had prepared was unendurable. On a riding horse, with pack mule carrying tent, bedding, and food, I started. The moon was at its full. After a ride of forty miles I camped. Seasonably the next morning I was traveling. The distance, thirty miles to the post was passed. The boats had not arrived. My mail was left and I returned twenty miles.

"The fifty miles for the next day should be commenced early, as the last fifteen miles were darkened with timber. The moon would not rise till more than two hours after sunset, and it was cloudy. With such facts in mind I encamped. I slept; I awoke; my first thought was, 'It is daylight.' The moon was concealed behind the clouds. Hurriedly I struck tent, saddled, packed and was off. After riding an indefinite length of time the location of the moon was discernible. Judging thus, it was not far from midnight. After a nocturnal ride of ten miles I lay down again and slept without fear of being benighted in dark timber. The distance traveled was one hundred and forty miles; length of time, a little in excess of two days and a half, with object obtained and mail taken to post office." [1]

Money was almost unknown. About the only transaction in money during those years, that the Eells family could remember, was that Dr. Eells gave Dr. Whitman a two-dollar-and-a-half gold piece in payment for filling a tooth.

Five weeks after her arrival, in a letter written at Whitman's station, Mrs. Eells gives her impression of the country. Our readers surely will take great pleasure in this interesting description written by the heroic missionary's equally heroic wife:

"We had a long, hard horseback journey, but suppose that we are the better qualified to live in this country, as there is no other mode of conveyance here. Instead of finding everything necessary for a livelihood, we find we are dependent on the mission for everything at present.

"The country is large and there are comparatively few inhabitants in it. The Hudson's Bay Company has a number of trading posts which are generally about three hundred miles apart. Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman have each a station about a hundred and twenty-five miles apart. The Methodists have two stations,— one a hundred and fifty miles and the other four hundred miles from here. Besides these settlements there are no others in

[1] From the *Walla Walla Watchman*, March 27, 1885.

REV. CUSHING EELLS, D.D.

this great territory. Of course the people of each settlement must raise their own provisions, make their own furniture, farming utensils, houses, and barns. There are a few cattle at each missionary station, a large number at Vancouver, and some at most of the other forts. Everything of cloth is brought from some foreign port. There is nothing yet to make cloth of, and if there were, there is no way to manufacture it. Had I known there was not a [spinning] wheel in this whole country I should have been exceedingly anxious to have had one sent with my other things. There are very few sheep here, and more have been sent for from California. Dr. Whitman has raised a little flax, though not much, for want of seed.

"Had it not been for the bedding, books, clothing, etc., that were kindly furnished me at home, I must have been in great want. The Hudson's Bay Company has furnished Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman with many of the necessaries of life, which the agents consider as a great favor, for they only bring what they want for their own use and to trade with the Indians. There never having been any white women here before the missionaries, there has been no call for anything but Indian articles of trade. The men wear striped cotton or calico shirts, sleep in Indian blankets and buffalo skins, and of course have had no need for white cotton cloth, and have none. The Indians wear moccasins, so there has been no want of shoes except for their own use. What things they have that are not in present use are kept at Vancouver, and there is generally a full supply for this country.

"Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding have obtained some earthen dishes, but think it is doubtful whether we can have any others until we order them from England or the States. Perhaps you will wonder what we shall eat with. We have the dishes we used on the way, which we have divided so that we shall each have a tin dish and a spoon, each a knife, fork, and plate. I expect we can get tinware at Vancouver. I believe there is a tinner there. We must be contented with what books we have until ours come (around Cape Horn). Dr. Whitman has gone to Vancouver to get what he can for us and make arrangements for them to send our things to us when they shall come. We do not expect them before another season.

"The Indians are numerous, but they live a wandering

life. They live upon game, fish, and roots, which are found in many different places. They have no houses, but live in lodges made of sticks set in a circle in the ground and drawn together at the top and fastened with a string, leaving a place at the top for the smoke to pass out. Over this frame they throw skins, grass, willows, and the like, which make their covering. They build their fire upon the ground, in the center, around which they sit and sleep. They generally have one kettle in which they boil their fish, meat, corn, and potatoes, if they have any. None of them have corn and potatoes except what they get from some of the above-named settlements. Not many of them have dishes, knives, forks, or spoons of any kind. They eat standing, with the kettle in the middle, their hands supplying the place of all dishes. They will often perform a long journey for a knife or a blanket. They dress in skins. Some of them get blankets for their services to the whites, which they value highly. They have no written language, and I believe no two tribes speak the same language, though there is some similarity.

"It is not known that they worship idols, though it is supposed that they worship something. Formerly when one died, owning horses, some of the relatives killed them, saying he would want them in another world. When they are sick they have a kind of jugglery. I have just been to see one of their performances. The woman who was sick was standing about half bent, beating upon a bit of board with a stick, giving herself the hardest of exercise, all the while sighing and sobbing as if her heart were broken, and sweating profusely. Five or six old women were sitting around her, keeping perfect time with all her gestures by drumming upon something with a stone. When the sick one is too feeble to perform, or too young, some one performs for her. We tried to tell them it was bad, and she left off and lay down while we were there, but as soon as we were away they were drumming again.

"They say they are glad we have come to teach them; that their mind is dark, that they know but little, and that their children will know more. There are a great many children, though very many die quite young. It is thought they are decreasing, notwithstanding some of them have a large number of wives. The more wives they have the richer they are. The women perform all the drudgery and

do all the work. They are a very imitative people; what they see us do they try to do. They are very strict in their morning and evening devotions and the observances of the Sabbath and the like. They do it because they have seen us do it, and not from any sense of duty.

"They have learned of Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman some Scripture history and some hymns, which they sing. They have not yet had much time to teach them, being obliged to do most of their own work. It is true the Indians help them some, but they cannot be depended upon. They are here to-day and to-morrow they are somewhere else. Besides, if they think you are depending upon them, they will not work, unless they are driven to it by hunger. Some of them are beginning to sow little patches of corn, wheat, and potatoes for themselves. This the men have done and are proud of it; but if a man works for us, they call him a slave or a fool. Three or four have given evidence of a change of heart.

"We feel that we are a small band of missionaries in a heathen land, far removed from the luxuries and many of the comforts of life, and we feel more keenly the absence of civilized and Christian society; but we trust we have been sent here on errands of mercy, that we are and shall be sustained in every trial by the same Almighty arm as in a Christian land. It is true that the field is large and but few laborers are in it, yet we pray that we may do, and do cheerfully, what we have to do to bring the heathen to Christ,—knowing that our reward will be great if we are faithful.

"I do not regret that I have come to labor for the Indians. I only regret that I am not better qualified for my work. I feel that I have come from a land of plenty to a destitute heathen people. I often fear that I shall lack that wisdom which is profitable to direct. I am sure no one ought to come here until he has counted well the cost." [1]

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, pp. 75–80.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES

TWO days after their arrival at Whitman's station, the missionaries held a meeting to plan for the future. They assigned Mr. and Mrs. Smith to Whitman's station at Waiilatpu; Mr. and Mrs. Gray and Mr. Rogers to Spalding's station at Lapwai; and voted that Walker and Eells, with their wives, should establish a new station farther north in the Flathead country. It is interesting to notice that the missionaries had already organized a church of which they themselves were members, and had established a temperance society. This church was nominally Presbyterian, but practically Congregational. The new missionaries at once joined the mission church and were enrolled as members of the temperance society. After the accession the church numbered sixteen members.

Mr. Smith spent the winter with Dr. Whitman, and in the spring opened a new station farther east among the Nez Percés. He remained there about three years, when he was compelled to give up the work on account of his own and his wife's ill-health. They went to the Sandwich Islands and subsequently to the United States. Mr. Rogers taught school at Lapwai during the winter and remained connected with the

mission about three years. He then withdrew and went to the Willamette Valley.

No time was lost by the new-comers. In less than two weeks after their arrival at Waiilatpu, Walker and Eells were on their way northward to find the proper place for their station. They visited Fort Colville to get the advice of Mr. Archibald McDonald, the head man of the Hudson's Bay Company at this fort. They describe Colville as a beautiful valley, with large herds of cattle and great fields of wheat. As they looked down upon it from a hilltop, Mr. Walker named it "A City under a Hill." Two places were commended to their attention, and the missionaries, after visiting both, finally settled on a station at a place called Tshimakain, now Walker's Prairie, six miles north of the Spokane River and a little east of the present Spokane City. Here was the home of the chief of the Spokane Indians, who were friendly and kind. The two men determined to do what they could toward building houses in preparation for the coming spring. They were to remain at Whitman's station during the winter. They had but a single hatchet, so they sent Indians to Fort Colville, seventy miles distant, to buy two Canadian axes. With these, aided by the Indians, they cut logs and built the walls of two log houses each about fourteen feet square. As winter was approaching, they did not dare to remain to cover them, but returned to Walla Walla, visiting Lapwai on their way. This journey to select a home for the two families occupied them about six weeks.

They spent the winter at Whitman's station, applying themselves to the study of the Flathead language, the noted Nez Percé chief, Lawyer, being their teacher.

Before the first of March the Spokane chief, with four men and four women, made his appearance at Waiilatpu to escort the missionaries to their new home. On the fifth of March, the first anniversary of their marriage, these two missionaries, with their wives and the baby, Cyrus Hamlin Walker, mounted their horses to ride one hundred and seventy miles to their home. The houses were quickly roofed over with poles and pine boughs, and they began housekeeping.

Who can tell in what simple style these missionaries lived? Their home was of the rudest sort, their comforts were few, and luxuries were unknown. They planted, they harvested, they supplied their own tables as far as possible from the soil. There were few goods in the country to be bought, and fewer still were bought by them. The American Board paid all their necessary expenses, but the amount was never exorbitant. The funds of the American Board were low, and Secretary Greene asked the missionaries to bring the expenses of each family within $300 a year, if possible. Dr. Eells has been known, at the end of a whole year, to send in his bill to the Board for one hundred dollars, to cover the entire expenses of his work, himself, and his family.

When Whitman and his young wife first reached Oregon, they went to Fort Walla Walla. There they were hospitably received by Dr. McLoughlin. The ladies of the party remained there for some time, while their husbands went up the Walla Walla to build a house and make the necessary preparations for the winter. On the 10th of December the entire party left Fort Walla Walla and rode on horseback twenty-five miles to their new home. Mrs. Whitman's diary gives the following account:

"We found a house reared and the lean-to enclosed, a good chimney and fireplace, and the floor laid. No windows or doors except blankets. My heart truly leaped for joy as I alighted from my horse, entered, and seated myself before a blazing fire (for it was now night). It occurred to me that my dear parents had made a similar beginning and perhaps a more difficult one than ours.

"We had neither drawer, bedstead, nor table, nor anything to make them of except green cotton wood. All our boards were sawed by hand. Here my husband, and his laborers (two Owyhees from Vancouver and a man who crossed the mountains with us), and Mr. Gray had been encamped in a tent since the 19th of October, toiling excessively hard to accomplish this much for our comfortable residence during the remainder of the winter.

"It is indeed a lovely situation. We are on a beautiful level peninsula formed by the branches of the Walla Walla River, on the base of which our house stands, upon the northeast corner near the shore of the main river. To run a fence across to the opposite river on the north from our house,—this, with the river, would enclose three hundred acres of good land for good cultivation all directly under the eye."

Immediately opposite their house on the east was a range of low hills covered with bunch grass. It was this grass which gave the name, "Waiilatpu," the place of the rye grass. Within a few years, in addition to the first house which was of logs, Whitman had built upon the northwest corner of the place the main building of adobe, 18 x 62 feet, with an extension 18 x 70 feet; in the rear of it a blacksmith shop; and next the river on the southeast corner of his enclosure was located a large flour mill.

It is almost impossible to conceive the amount of work that he and his associates had done. A good description of this is furnished by Mr. Thomas J. Farnham, who visited Whitman's station in the fall of 1839. At that time Whitman had enclosed two hun-

dred and fifty or three hundred acres of land and had two hundred acres under good cultivation. He had that year crops of good quality and abundant, including wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, beets, carrots, onions, turnips, asparagus, rutabagas, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, squashes, tomatoes, cucumbers, and peas. Seeds were supplied to all Indians who would plant and cultivate. He had the gristmill and two other buildings erected, and a fourth in process of erection. Mr. Farnham says:

"It appeared to me quite remarkable that the Doctor could have made so many improvements since the year 1836; but the industry which crowded every hour of the day, his untiring energy of character and the very efficient aid of his wife in relieving him in a great degree from the labors of the school, are perhaps circumstances which render possibility probable, that in three years one man, without funds for such purposes, without other aid for that business than that of a fellow-missionary for short intervals, should fence, plow, build, plant an orchard, and do all the other laborious acts of opening a plantation on the face of that distant wilderness, learn the Indian language, and do the duties, meanwhile, of a physician to the associate stations on the Clearwater and the Spokane." [1]

Mr. Farnham also states that Mrs. Whitman was an indefatigable instructor, and at that time had a school containing about fifty Indian children. As years passed on, many obstacles were encountered, but amidst all discouragements the missionaries remained at their posts and prosecuted the work with vigor.

A member of Commodore Wilkes's exploring expedition in 1841 made this report of the mission:

"All the premises looked comfortable, the garden

[1] See Thos. J. Farnham, *Travels across the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains.*

especially fine, vegetables and melons in great variety. The wheat in the fields was seven feet high and nearly ripe, and the corn nine feet in the tassel."

He marks the drawbacks of the mission thus:

"The roving of the Indians, rarely staying at home more than three months at a time. They are off after buffalo, and again off after the salmon, and not more than fifty or sixty remain during the winter." [1]

In 1839 a great sorrow came to the Whitman family. Their only child, a little girl about two years and three months old, was drowned in the river. It was the only child that came to Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, and was the first white child born in that country. It was towards night when Mrs. Whitman missed her little girl. In their search for her, they found two little tin cups at the edge of the river near the house where they obtained their water. An old Indian dived in and soon brought out the body. Dr. Whitman was away from home. Mrs. Whitman wrote in her diary:

"I cannot describe what our feelings were when night came and our dear child a corpse in the next room. We went to bed, but not to sleep, for sleep had departed from our eyes. The morning came, we arose, but our child slept on. I prepared a shroud for her during the day; we kept her four days; it was a great blessing and comfort to me so long as she looked natural and was so sweet I could caress her. But when her visage began to change I felt it a great privilege that I could put her in so safe a resting-place as the grave, to see her no more until the resurrection morning.

"Although her grave is in sight every time I step out of the door, my thoughts seldom wander there to find her. I look above with unspeakable delight, and contemplate her as enjoying the full delights of that bright world where her joys are perfect." [2]

[1] Nixon, *Marcus Whitman.*

[2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX

THE CONDITIONS IN 1842

IN the winter of 1842–43, Dr. Whitman made his famous overland journey from Oregon to the States. He went to Washington and conferred with the President, members of the Cabinet, and members of Congress; he went to Boston and interviewed the secretaries and the Prudential Committee of the American Board; and he was back on the frontier early in May, and helped organize and move forward a large emigration, comprising eight hundred or more men, women, and children, who went to Oregon as permanent settlers. As a result of this emigration Oregon was made sure to the United States.

These facts are clearly proved. The great question that concerns us now is how much had Dr. Whitman to do with bringing about this result. On the one hand, it has been claimed that he foresaw the conditions, and became satisfied that the Oregon region would be lost to the United States unless American settlers could be brought over in such numbers as clearly to outvote the Hudson's Bay people and other British subjects; that with this object in view, he left his mission work and made his perilous journey across the continent with the sole purpose of carrying over this emigration.

On the other hand, it has been asserted that Whitman had nothing—or, if anything, very little—to do with this emigration. That he came across the country is admitted; that he went to Washington has been denied. Those holding this view say that the existence of Whitman's mission station was in jeopardy, and that he made the trip east and went to Boston to interview the American Board in order to induce them to retain his mission station as it was. It is claimed that this was the sole object of his journey; that upon arriving on the frontier in the spring of 1843 he availed himself of the opportunity to return to Oregon under the escort of this great emigration; that the emigrants were of service to him rather than that he aided them.

Here are two conflicting views of this subject. Many statements have been made by each party which are either entirely overdrawn or absolutely untrue. Three persons on the Pacific coast have placed themselves emphatically on record against the belief that Dr. Whitman's journey east was taken with political intention. They are Hon. Elwood Evans of Tacoma, Judge Deady of Portland, and Mrs. F. F. Victor. It appears that Judge Deady never studied the subject historically, and his opinions were framed merely from evidence that came before him in a lawsuit about property at Vancouver. In a long conversation with the present writer, he disclaimed any critical knowledge of the merits of the case, and advised a consultation with Mr. Evans.

Mrs. F. F. Victor has said that "the winter journey of Dr. Marcus Whitman in 1842–43 had no influence whatever upon the adjustment of the territorial claims of Great Britain and the United States to any part of the Oregon territory."

Hon. Elwood Evans has made the following assertions:

"First, Dr. Whitman's winter journey in 1842–43 had no political intent or significance whatever.

"Second, no feeling as to the Oregon boundary controversy, or desire or wish to defeat British claims to the territory or any part of it had any influence in actuating such journey.

"Third, his exclusive purpose was to secure the rescinding by the American Board of Foreign Missions of the order of 1841 [1842 ?] to abandon the southern stations of Waiilatpu and Lapwai.

"Fourth, there is no evidence that he visited Washington City during the spring of 1843.

"Fifth, that he in any manner whatever or in the remotest degree stimulated the 'great immigration of 1843,' is as untenable as the political claim we have been discussing. Nor would it be referred to, but for the connection that American occupancy of the territory had in hastening the settlement of the Oregon controversy. Dr. Whitman left Oregon in October, 1842, and he only reached St. Louis in March, 1843. No opportunity had ever occurred for meeting parties who could be influenced to go to Oregon. In those early days the Oregon immigration had to arrange in the fall of the preceding year for the next year's great journey. Dr. Whitman's connection with that immigration commenced with the crossing of the North Platte River in June, where he overtook the train. He accompanied it and rendered valuable service as a physician and as an experienced traveler. Escorted by it to Oregon, though in no respect whatever a factor in its formation or progress, perhaps his presence contributed greatly to its successful transcontinental march." [1]

The discussion on the Pacific coast between the years 1880 and 1890 was extensive. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question, and newspaper articles were numerous, especially in *The Oregonian*, the *Walla Walla Watchman*, the *Walla Walla Union*,

[1] From *The Oregonian*, December 25, 1884.

and the *Eastern Oregonian.* Many writers took part in this controversy. To an impartial reader of these prolonged discussions it would seem that the friends of Whitman had decidedly the best of the argument, and that public opinion throughout the country was settling down to the belief that Whitman's heroic ride was productive of great good to this country, and that it had a marked influence in behalf of Oregon.

In the *American Historical Review,* January, 1901, appeared an article by Professor Edward G. Bourne, of Yale University, denying the generally accepted theory and to a great extent agreeing with Mr. Evans and the other writers just mentioned. In this article Mr. Bourne says:

"Although many others have testified in recent years to the truth of the Spalding narrative, not a particle of contemporary evidence has ever been advanced in its support."

Again he says: "Of Whitman's presence in Washington I have been able to find not a trace of local contemporary evidence. . . . Every account that has been published of Whitman's interviews with Tyler and Webster, except this of Lovejoy's, is entirely fictitious. . . . That Whitman influenced American diplomacy in any way is not only destitute of evidence, but is intrinsically improbable. The belief that he did so originated with Spalding."

Professor Bourne strangely accepts, apparently without any reserve, the account given by Mrs. Victor in H. H. Bancroft's history of Oregon, and says:

"Every student of Oregon history is under obligation to her for her scholarly and honest presentation of the facts derived from the unparalleled collection of materials gathered by Mr. Bancroft. . . . I have

nowhere found a reference to his presence in Washington outside of the Spalding narrative and its derivatives, nor is there any evidence that he ever had any communication with the Washington authorities on the Oregon question."

Again, Professor Bourne goes out of his way to express the opinion : " Extraordinary efforts have been made in good faith to disseminate the story of Marcus Whitman in order to raise money for a suitable memorial, and especially for Whitman College." These numerous short quotations will serve to show the position taken by Professor Bourne.

On the other hand, some writers have treated the matter as though Whitman's sole purpose was to secure Oregon to the United States, and as though he had no other objects in view in making the journey. The friends of Whitman have also made some mistakes in their statement of facts. For example, Mr. Spalding represents Daniel Webster as intending to trade off Oregon " with Governor Simpson, to go into the Ashburton treaty, for a cod fishery on Newfoundland." Of course Webster had no dealings with Simpson as to the Ashburton treaty, and, moreover, that treaty had been concluded, signed, proclaimed, and had gone into effect before Whitman started from Oregon.

Whatever Dr. Whitman's intentions may have been in making that journey and whatever he had to do with carrying over the emigration, it is certainly true that various other circumstances conspired to bring about the great emigration of 1843. It should be the aim of the impartial historian to examine all sides of a disputed question, to sift all statements, to examine all theories, to go, as far as possible, to the original sources for his facts, and, free from bias or prejudice,

to state only that which appears to be thoroughly corroborated as truth.

With such intentions, let us examine carefully the evidences of Whitman's heroic journey on horseback across the continent in winter and endeavor to ascertain the exact truth concerning his purpose and the result of that journey.

In the first place we will note the conditions of the mission. The Oregon mission comprised three principal stations. One was at Tshimakain, where were located Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells, with their families; the second was Spalding's station at Lapwai on the Clearwater River; and the third was Whitman's station at Waiilatpu on the Walla Walla River. With Dr. Whitman at his station had been, during a part of the time, Mr. Gray, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Rogers. Mr. Smith had established a new station among the Nez Percés at Kamiah. Such was the personnel of the several stations.

During the years 1840, 1841, and up to June, 1842, there existed considerable difference of opinion on various matters pertaining to the management of the missionary work and on questions of a personal character. The missionaries were all independent men; each had his own thoughts, views, and opinions. They were far away from civilized communities. Many questions naturally arose in regard to which they were inclined to entertain positive and divergent views. How much preaching should be done; to what extent should the educational work be carried on; should Whitman set up a gristmill at Waiilatpu; was it necessary for Spalding to have a gristmill and a sawmill at Lapwai; to what extent should the Indians be taught English; these are only a few of the questions which would naturally arise.

Moreover, some men are by nature sweet-tempered, obliging, kindly; others can with difficulty avoid positiveness, and a dogmatic manner; and even among missionaries we must expect that sometimes a little selfishness will appear. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that all those streams of human life ran smoothly and quietly. Friction would arise now and then between some of these workers. There is abundant evidence that Mr. Spalding, though a good man, strongly religious in temperament, earnestly devoted to his work, and never sparing himself but doing all in his power for the uplifting of his Indians, frequently manifested traits of character and positive opinions and actions quite uncomfortable to his brethren. Gray was a very positive man, resolute, earnest, whole-souled, impulsive. Rogers and Smith, not in the best of health, found frequent causes of complaint. From a careful examination of the documentary evidence in the case it clearly appears that Whitman, Eells, and Walker were good-natured, kindly in disposition, generous to their friends and coworkers, everywhere and at all times endeavoring to promote harmony in the work.

The correspondence between these several missionaries and the secretaries of the American Board shows that about 1841 the difference of views and the friction between the missionaries had apparently reached a climax. Letters to the missionaries from the corresponding secretary of the Board, dated November 2, 1840, and March 8, 1841, brought the subject officially before the missionaries themselves. The replies from the missionaries to the Board still showed a divergence of views.

Other conditions of the mission demanded the at-

tention of the Prudential Committee of the Board. Roman Catholic influences from the Hudson's Bay Company's stations threatened seriously to embarrass the work of the missionaries. At that time Dr. John McLoughlin was in charge of the Company's operations and resided at Fort Walla Walla. The Jesuit priests from this station carried on their missionary work over a considerable extent of country, including Waiilatpu and Lapwai. These influences, in the opinion of the Prudential Committee, threatened the success of their southern mission stations. The Committee in Boston, at arm's length from the missionaries and their work, very likely magnifying some things and not understanding others, determined on heroic treatment, which under all the circumstances seemed to them necessary.

On February 15, 1842, the Prudential Committee of the Board "resolved to discontinue the southern branch of the Oregon mission, and the secretary for the Indian correspondence received instructions as to the manner of writing to Dr. Whitman and Mr. Rogers of that mission." A few days later, on February 23d, documents relating to the Oregon mission having been read, a resolution was passed, as follows:

"Resolved that the Rev. Henry H. Spalding be recalled, with instructions to return by the first direct and suitable opportunity; that Mr. William H. Gray be advised to return home, and also the Rev. Asa B. Smith, on account of the illness of his wife; that Dr. Marcus Whitman and Mr. Cornelius Rogers be designated to the northern branch of the mission; and that the two last named be authorized to dispose of the mission property in the southern branch of the mission."

To return to the mission: — the annual meeting of the Oregon missionaries was held in May, extending

over a period of twenty days or more until the 8th of June. At this meeting all the missionaries were present. They had before them the two letters from Secretary Greene of the Board, dated November 2, 1840, and March 8, 1841. They discussed kindly the entire situation, particularly their relations to each other. Each member of the mission spoke freely and fully of the difficulties by which they were surrounded, and each one, if he had any, stated his personal grievances and complaints. In a brotherly, Christian way, with much prayer to the Heavenly Father for wisdom and grace, these brethren freely, frankly, and fully conferred together. If one seemed to be in any way at fault, that fault was pointed out to him, and he acknowledged it.

Thus these brethren came to see alike, and their differences melted away. Christian love and a new interest in the work in which they were engaged took the place of suspicion and fault-finding. From that time onward their relations to each other were cordial and agreeable, quite different from what had been the case between certain members of the mission during the previous year or two.

At this meeting the missionaries prepared a letter to the Board, in which they communicated their views of the conditions and prospects of the mission, stating that their difficulties had all been settled, and that they now anticipated better success than heretofore. This letter was signed by the committee and sent by messenger down to the coast, where it waited until a vessel bound for the Atlantic appeared. The first vessel to arrive was a whaler from Warren, Rhode Island, bound homeward. The letter was carried around Cape Horn, and mailed at Warren, March 19th,

and was received at the mission rooms in Boston the next day, the 20th of March, 1843. This incident illustrates the difficulties of carrying on correspondence at that period between Oregon and the States.

The success of the mission at this time is well summed up in the following extract:

"After several exploring expeditions among the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, the Board entered upon a mission there in the autumn of 1836. Their attention was directed to three tribes, embracing the Cayuses, among whom was the Waiilatpu station; the Nez Percés, among whom were the Clearwater and Kamiah stations; and the Flatheads, in whose neighborhood was the Tshimakain station. These stations were provided with suitable laborers, so that in 1840 the whole force consisted of four missionaries, one physician, two male and six female assistants. They were not only kindly received, but the Indians showed the utmost eagerness to receive instruction; and other tribes, hearing that teachers had come into the country, sent pressing messages requesting that one or more might be sent to dwell among them.

"The three tribes above named were anxious also to engage in agriculture, and hundreds of families settled near the mission stations and cultivated the ground so assiduously that in a little time they had produced enough for their comfortable subsistence. Their desire for religious instruction exceeded anything ever before met with among the North American Indians. 'Among the Nez Percés,' says the report for 1840, 'the congregation had increased from such a number as could be accommodated in a schoolhouse, to between one and two thousand, many coming from the adjacent bands. All seemed eager for religious instruction, and it was believed that the Spirit of the Lord was working on the hearts of many. As many as two thousand made a public confession of sin, and promised to serve God. Doubtless many did this with a very imperfect idea of what was involved in it, though not a few were thought to give evidence of saving conversion.' A similar religious interest was manifested among the Cayuses.

"About this time the mission received, as a donation from the Sandwich Island churches, a small printing press,

with the requisite type and furniture, with paper, etc., all estimated at about $450. From the same source they received, the year before, $80 in money and ten bushels of salt. The press was immediately set up at Clearwater, and employed to print an elementary schoolbook of twenty pages. The Indians were highly gratified with a book in their own language, and new interest was found to be imparted to the schools. In 1841 a second book was prepared and printed in the Nez Percé language, and 800 copies printed, making 41,600 pages. A sawmill and gristmill were also put in operation at Clearwater, and a grain mill at Waiilatpu, all of which afforded valuable aid to the mission families and encouraged a settled life among the Indians.

"For three or four succeeding years the mission was attended with great apparent success, not, however, without some serious defections among the Indians, and at times abusive treatment from the younger and more savage portion of the tribes."[1]

[1] Newcomb, *Cyclopedia of Missions.*

CHAPTER X

THE MISSIONARIES DISCUSS THE SITUATION

IN September, 1842, Dr. Whitman sent messengers to the other stations asking all the missionaries to attend a meeting of the mission to be held at his station, September 26th. It is necessary for us just here to consider carefully the combination of circumstances which occasioned this meeting. Some writers claim that the meeting was called solely on account of the orders which had been received from Boston,—that is, the votes passed by the Prudential Committee in February previous, directing them to discontinue the two southern stations and calling home Spalding and Gray. The friends of Whitman in some of their accounts of the meeting have ignored these orders and have asserted that Whitman's sole purpose was a political and patriotic one. A careful examination of the facts will be found necessary to determine the truth of the matter.

Such an examination shows very clearly that Whitman had two purposes. The one was well known to his missionary brethren, that is, the affairs of the mission. The other purpose sprang from his own thought and reasoning about the proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, and related to the permanent occupancy and control of the country. It is natural that the memory of Spalding, Eells, and Gray

after the lapse of many years should be fallible in respect to certain details, but it is scarcely possible that they would utterly forget the essential and most important facts of the case and substitute a myth. These three men differed exceedingly from one another, and their interests were not alike. They all, however, agree as to this meeting of the missionaries.

Dr. Eells says that Mr. McDonald in 1842 gave it as his "opinion that if England should obtain the desired portion of Oregon (then including Washington Territory) it would be made over to the Hudson's Bay Company." Father Eells further says "the same gentleman asked me who, fifty years hence, would probably compose the inhabitants of this country. He answered the question himself by saying substantially, 'the descendants of the Hudson's Bay Company.'" Dr. Whitman said in reference to the same class of persons: "Fifty years hence they will not be found." Dr. Whitman understood, with a fair degree of correctness apparently, that it was the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company to secure this country to the English Government. He felt strongly in reference to this subject. At the time his missionary associates judged that he was disturbed to an unwarrantable degree; but the result has furnished cumulative evidence that there was sufficient reason for determined earnestness on his part.

In a letter written May 12, 1842, Dr. Whitman said: "There will probably be a large party of emigrants coming to this country in the spring of 1843. Some young men are now returning with the expectation of bringing out a party next spring."

Mrs. Whitman, in writing to her husband after he started for the east, October 22, 1842, showed what she

understood to be the object of his journey by the following: "Indeed, much as I shall and do want to see you, I prefer that you stay just as long as it is necessary to accomplish all your heart's desire respecting the interest of this country, so dear to us both—our home."

Dr. Eells, Whitman's colaborer, has given his testimony as follows:

"An unyielding purpose was formed by Dr. Whitman to go east. The mission was called together to consider whether or not its approval could be given to the proposed undertaking. Mr. Walker and myself were decidedly opposed, and we yielded only when it became evident that he would go, even if he had to become disconnected from the mission in order to do so. According to the understanding of the members of the mission, the single object of Dr. Whitman in attempting to cross the continent in the winter of 1842–43, amid mighty peril and suffering, was to make a desperate effort to save this country to the United States.

"On reaching Washington he learned that representations had been made there corresponding to those which had been often repeated on this coast. 'Oregon,' it was said, 'would most likely be unimportant to the United States. It was difficult of access. A wagon road thither was an impossibility.' By such statements Governor Simpson (the territorial governor of the Hudson's Bay Company) had well-nigh succeeded in accomplishing his object of purchasing this country, not for a mess of pottage, but a cod fishery.' Dr. Whitman was barely able to obtain from President Tyler the promise that negotiations should be suspended.

"His next object was to expose the falsity of the statement that the Rocky and Blue Mountains could not be passed by immigrant wagons. It soon became known, to some extent, that Dr. Whitman would accompany those who would attempt to go to the Columbia that season in this manner. The fact induced numbers to decide to go, who would not otherwise have done so. If I judge correctly, the testimony has been unvarying and abundant that the success of the expedition depended upon the knowledge, skill, energy, and perseverance of Dr. Whitman.

Extravagant language has been used, expressive of the confidence of the emigrants of 1843 in his ability to conduct them successfully through difficulties which, in the estimation of many, were regarded as utter impossibilities. The fording of the Platte with such a train was an untried and in some respects a perilous undertaking; and yet it was signally successful.

"In 1839 Rev. J. S. Griffin and his missionary associates traveled from the western frontier to Fort Hall with wagons. They were there told by agents of the Hudson's Bay Company that it was impracticable, if not impossible, to take their wagons to Walla Walla. Consequently teams and wagons were exchanged for pack animals and fixtures. In 1840 Rev. H. Clarke and other missionary laborers performed the same journey in like manner. At Fort Hall they were induced to leave their wagons. In 1843 this game was tried again, and at the opportune moment when Dr. Whitman was absent from camp. On his return he found some weeping, others much disturbed. He at once comprehended the plot, and then and there is said to have addressed them as follows: 'My countrymen, you have trusted me thus far; believe me now, and I will take your wagons to the Columbia River.'

"I may not be able to furnish evidence entirely satisfactory to others, but in view of all the past relating to this subject, of which I have been an eye and ear witness since August, 1838, I am prepared to say that to my mind there is not the shadow of a doubt that Dr. Whitman, by his efforts with President Tyler and Secretary Webster in 1843, and his agency during the same year in conducting an immigrant train from the western frontier to the Columbia River, was instrumental in saving a valuable portion of the Northwest to the United States. Am I extravagant in adding that the importance of this service to our country will not likely be overestimated? When the iron track of the Northern Pacific Railroad shall have the two oceans for its termini, and the commerce of the world shall move over the most direct route, and when the latent resources of this vast region shall have been fully developed, there will be a theme worthy of the best endeavors of the statesman and the orator."[1]

[1] Dr. C. Eells in the *Missionary Herald*, December, 1866, pp. 371, 372.

Dr. Eells was a remarkably candid, cautious, and conscientious man. He would not knowingly prevaricate or deviate from the truth in the slightest degree. Walker, Gray, and Spalding throughout their lives gave substantially the same evidence as that given by Dr. Eells.

There is abundant evidence that Whitman had been for some time observing the trend of political affairs in Oregon. He had observed that members of the Hudson's Bay Company held tenaciously to their stock and were unwilling to sell. They were retiring their servants upon farms, and those men would make voters. Year after year a band of greater or smaller numbers came over the mountains from the Red River country. It was clearly manifest that the policy of the Company was to secure a majority of voters, establish a provisional government, appeal to Great Britain for protection, and hold the country themselves for the fur trade with the Indians. They did not wish these Indians to be civilized and Christianized, for that would interfere with their trade. Consequently they did not wish the Americans to settle that country. They found fault with Dr. John McLoughlin, their agent at Fort Vancouver, a man of strong mind and generous impulses, because he assisted the Americans when they were suffering for food. Gray says:

"The governing power of the Hudson's Bay Company would, if it were possible, have compelled him to starve the immigrants and sacrifice all the early settlers of the country. . . . The Company's managing and controlling office in London did finally call him to an account for thus furnishing supplies as already stated and for reasons indicated. He represented to them the circumstances under which he had furnished these supplies, alleging that as a man of common humanity it was not possible for him to do otherwise

than as he did; that he foresaw as clearly as they did that it aided in the American settlement of the country, but that this he could not help and it was not for him but for God and the government to look after and take care of the consequences. He concluded by saying to the Company: 'Gentlemen, if such is your order I will serve you no longer.' And from that day Oregon secured a warm and faithful friend in that old white-headed man." [1]

Now let us examine the immediate occasion of Whitman's overland journey. He called a meeting of the missionaries for September 26, 1842, at his station, Waiilatpu. The missionaries were all present. It should be remembered that Walker and Eells were perhaps one hundred and fifty miles from Whitman's station. They left home on Wednesday, expecting to finish their journey Saturday night, but the end of the week found them at the Touchet River, where they encamped over the Sabbath. On Monday they reached Waiilatpu, where they found Whitman, Gray, and Spalding.

It has been denied that any such meeting was held. It would seem that the writers who discredit the influence of Whitman in saving Oregon have resorted to strange freaks of unbelief, apparently being sometimes unwilling to believe anything favorable to Whitman, no matter how strong the evidence is to support it. Long arguments have been made to show that no such meeting could have been held; yet Gray, who was present, gives an account of the meeting, Eells has repeatedly described the meeting and the action taken, and Spalding has done the same. Still a few persons who have written upon this subject refuse to believe anything these missionaries say unless it favors their side.

[1] Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 318, 319.

It has also been asserted that if such a meeting was held, Gray was not there, because in the preceding spring he had withdrawn from the mission and taken up his residence with his family in the Willamette Valley. On this point Mr. Gray himself has said:

"W. H. Gray did not go to the Willamette (as Frost and Lee write it) until about September 1, 1842. He returned to the Whitman station for his family on the 21st of September, 1842. He was not ready to leave the Whitman station till about the 15th of October. I do not like to call Hon. Mr. Evans's statement false, but I will admit he is mistaken in date, by not having read Gray's circular controversy with Mrs. Victor. In May, 1842, Gray was not in the Willamette Valley, and it is certain that he was at the Whitman station in June of that year, and a member of that mission, and at that meeting was honorably permitted to leave its services and go where he pleased with his family. Does the Hon. Elwood Evans call his statement the truth? Gray was also at the station at the time of the called meeting [in September] after his return from the Willamette Valley. The starting of Dr. Whitman at the time he did, to go to the States, caused a delay in his (Gray's) arrangements to go to the Willamette Valley." [1]

Father Eells himself gave to the writer personally a full account of this meeting. He told of their encampment on the Touchet over Sunday; of their discussions at the meeting; of the final vote which they passed, approving of Dr. Whitman's proposed journey to the States. He said that Whitman laid before them the plan and designs of the Hudson's Bay Company, telling them how much he should regret to see the country fall into the hands of the Company, as that would mean British sovereignty and the dominating influence of Catholic priests. He said that Spalding favored Whitman's application to go

[1] From the *Portland Oregonian*, February 1, 1885.

east; himself and Walker opposed it. His remembrance of the matter seemed perfectly clear. He told particularly how Whitman replied to their objections.

They had said substantially: "Brother Whitman, we think you had better attend to your missionary duties and let politics alone." Upon that Whitman arose from his seat, faced the brethren, and said: "I was a man before I became a missionary, and when I became a missionary I did not expatriate myself. I shall go to the States if I have to sever my connection with the mission." Such a proposition could not be entertained by the brethren for a moment, and they consented. When Father Eells told this story he repeated the gestures which he said Whitman made as he pronounced the words quoted. As he said, "I was a man," he brought up his closed hands in front of him and forcibly dropped them at the word "man"; and as he continued, "when I became a missionary I did not expatriate myself," his hands were brought up in the same way and forcibly dropped on the word "expatriate." His mind was made up and nothing could turn it.

Would it not seem clear from this that the leading thought in Whitman's mind was not the retention of his station, but the saving of Oregon to the United States? Without doubt he intended also to go to Boston and interview the American Board, as he did.

Dr. Eells forty years afterward wrote out an account of this meeting and made oath to its truthfulness. In this account Dr. Eells says:

"The idea of his withdrawal could not be entertained. Therefore to retain him in the mission, a vote to approve of his making the perilous endeavor prevailed. He had a cherished object for the accomplishment of which he de-

sired consultation with the Rev. David Greene, Secretary of Correspondence at the mission house in Boston, Massachusetts, but I have no recollection that it was named in the meeting. A part of two days was spent in consultation. Record of date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of their massacre, November 29, 1847, it disappeared."

It is hardly to be supposed that his memory of details could be entirely trusted concerning what happened forty years before this affidavit was made. One can scarcely imagine that this meeting was held for two days without discussing the peculiar conditions at that time surrounding the missionary affairs; but Dr. Eells says, "I have no recollection that it was named." This affidavit of Dr. Eells clearly shows what he did remember. He remembered that which at the time seemed to be the prevailing sentiment, the great thing, the principal object of the meeting. He may have forgotten what was said concerning the local affairs of the mission, but he never forgot the discussion of Dr. Whitman's proposed journey or his emphatic statement and equally vigorous gesture which emphasized his determination to go east to save Oregon to the United States.

On the very day that Whitman started upon his perilous journey, Father Eells wrote a letter, which is now on file in the archives of the American Board at Boston, from which the following is quoted. In reference to the orders of the Prudential Committee to close the southern branch of the mission he said:

"With this view of the case you will see why we were so unwilling to abandon the south branch, for as it seemed to us by giving up that we were giving up the whole mission. Notwithstanding we thought that the object of your letter

had been accomplished by the reconciliation which had taken place, still we felt ourselves placed in a trying situation. We hardly knew what course to pursue, but concluded to wait until we could receive an answer to the committee of the mission stating that the difficulties of the mission were settled. We found too that there was a difficulty in sustaining the mission, as so many had withdrawn and as the reinforcement had stopped at the islands.[1] After considerable consultation without coming to any definite conclusion, and as we were about starting for our place, a proposition was made by Dr. Whitman for him to return to the States this winter and confer with the Prudential Committee, and conduct a reinforcement out next summer if it was thought best to continue the mission. At least something definite could be decided upon. The proposition being presented just as we were on the eve of leaving, we felt at first that we could not then give a decided answer to it. We wanted time to think and pray over it and proposed to return and send in writing our conclusion. But we were told that there was no time to be lost, that we must decide it now or it would be too late. After some more consultation we stated that if the station could be put in a situation which would render it safe to be left and other proper arrangements could be made, we would consent to Dr. Whitman's going to the States. We do not approve of the hasty manner in which this question was decided. Nothing, it seemed to us, but stern necessity induced us to decide in the manner we did. It seemed death to put the proposition in force and worse than death to remain as we were. I have no doubt that if his plan succeeds, it will be one of great good to the mission and country. It is to be expected that a Romish influence will come in, and being under the control of the priests it will be scattered through the country wherever there are Indians and near the stations of the mission. To meet this influence a few religious settlers around a station would be invaluable." . . .

(Signed) "CUSHING EELLS."[2]

[1] This refers to missionaries who had been sent out by the Board with the supposition that they would reinforce the Oregon mission, but who had stopped for service at the Sandwich Islands.

[2] Taken from the archives of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston.

CHAPTER XI

THE TRUE CAUSES OF WHITMAN'S RIDE

DR. WHITMAN came to Boston and held interviews with the secretaries and the Prudential Committee of the Board. He so represented the affairs of the mission that they took positive and decided action in favor of the mission,—which action they had less than ten days before his arrival refused to take, —and that action was all that Dr. Whitman wished. The correspondence of Whitman, his coworkers, and others, before the journey, before his return to Oregon, and subsequently, together with the action and subsequent statements of the Board, all go to show that one reason for this memorable journey was to place the affairs of the Oregon mission properly before the Board and to secure, if possible, positive and immediate action for the good of the mission,—which action was fully secured. But if this was the only motive for that hazardous journey, why should he not have waited until spring ? It seems quite clear that a summer trip across the continent would have accomplished that end just as well.

On the other hand, it is at least equally clear, and perhaps more strongly fortified by the evidence, that in his own mind the impelling purpose for which Whitman came to the States was not to secure this action of the Board. In order to judge correctly concerning the

motives which influenced this journey we must study carefully many circumstances connected with the case. Such a multitude of facts is at hand, such an accumulation of evidence from a great number of reputable persons, as to show beyond a doubt that the main purpose in Dr. Whitman's mind was of a political nature. He was determined to make a strong endeavor to induce our national government not to give up Oregon to the British; and, in order to make the country safe to the United States, he intended to assist so far as he could in bringing over an immigration which should give the majority of resident voters to the American party.

Up to this time no successful effort had been made by either the British or the Americans to put in operation a provisional government. Conditions, however, plainly indicated to the parties on the ground that such an effort could not much longer be deferred. Indeed, while Dr. Whitman was away, the first effort in this direction was made. In the fall of 1842, just after Whitman started for the east, Mr. Gray moved his family to the Willamette Valley. On the 2d of February, 1843, notice having previously been given, a meeting was held at Gray's house for the purpose of taking action for protection against wild beasts. This gathering was called the "Wolf Meeting." It was fully attended, and a committee was appointed to call a public meeting, which was held at the house of Joseph Gervais, one of the committee, on the first Monday in March. At that meeting action was taken to prevent the ravages of wolves. Bounties were offered, and a committe of advice to call public meetings was appointed. After the business of the meeting was over, the settlers were addressed upon another subject. The address concluded as follows:

"We have mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our cattle and domestic animals; now, fellow citizens, I submit and move the adoption of the two following resolutions, that we may have protection for our persons and lives as well as our cattle and herds:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony.

"*Resolved*, That the same committee consist of twelve persons."

These two resolutions were unanimously adopted and the committee was named. They called a meeting to organize a provisional government at Champoeg on the 2d of May. At this meeting both parties were out in full force, and a test vote showed that there were present fifty-two Americans and fifty British and Hudson's Bay Company men. It was voted to choose officers and a committee of nine persons to draft a code of laws.

The American party had triumphed, but the vote was so close and the two parties so evenly divided that it was considered politic to do as little as possible until further immigration should increase their numbers. After the important accession to their numbers from the great immigration of 1843, this provisional government became active, put in operation a code of laws, and chose George Abernethy governor. He served for four years, or until the territorial governor appointed by the President arrived. The regular territorial government began on the 3d of March, 1849.

It would seem that before Dr. Whitman knew of the proposed action of the Board concerning the southern stations, he had made up his mind to go east that fall. It is apparent, also, that he said little about the object of his visit. Even after the missionaries had

met at his place September 26th–28th, he was very reticent concerning the object of his proposed visit. It is probable, at least, that after the missionaries had returned to their homes, some time between September 29th and October 3d, Dr. Whitman went over to old Fort Walla Walla. It is stated by various persons that he did so. It is reported that he went to see a patient, and very likely that is true. It is also stated that in conversation with Lovejoy and others of that party who had but lately arrived at his station from the States, he had learned that a treaty was about to be made concerning our northern boundaries, and hence he wished to make inquiries of Mr. McKinley of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla to see whether he knew anything further concerning that matter. And is it not possible that Whitman's departure may have been hastened by two days by what he heard there? At any rate, it is not to be supposed for a moment that Dr. Whitman would give any information to the Hudson's Bay people that he intended to go to Washington to prevent our government from trading off Oregon, or that his object was to bring over an immigration. Such a course would not have been wise and it would not have been safe. The influence of the Catholic priests upon many of the Indians was well known, and the Indians were in many ways greatly dependent upon the Hudson's Bay people. It was certainly wise for Dr. Whitman to keep to himself his motives of a political nature.

Mrs. Walker, the wife of the missionary, in a letter written in 1883, states the matter thus distinctly:

"Dr. Whitman went east in 1842 mainly to save the country from falling into the hands of the English, as he believed there was great danger of it. He had written Mr.

Walker several times before about it. One expression I well remember he wrote, about as follows: 'This country will soon be settled by the whites. It belongs to the Americans. It is a great and rich country. What a country this would be for Yankees! Why not tell them of it?'"

She further says emphatically that Whitman was determined to go east on this business, even if it should oblige him to leave the mission. She then proceeds to give this reason why he should not at that time say much about the political motives for his trip:

"Much was said about that time about the Methodist missionaries coming here, and then leaving their legitimate missionary calling to make money and for other purposes, and some disgrace was brought on the missionary cause. Mr. Walker and associates felt that Dr. Whitman, in leaving missionary work and going on this business, was likely also to bring disgrace on the cause, and were so afraid of it that for a long time they would hardly mention that object of Dr. Whitman's journey publicly. I remember plainly that Mr. Walker often prayed after Dr. Whitman had gone, that if it was right for him to go on this business, he might be preserved, but, if not, his way might be hedged up. When the statements first began to be made publicly of this political object of Dr. Whitman's journey east, we were then afraid that disgrace would be brought on our mission."[1]

Mr. Lovejoy, who took this journey with Dr. Whitman, reports as follows: "Previous to our leaving Waiilatpu, I often had conversations with the Doctor touching the prospects of this coast. He was alive to its interests and manifested a warm wish to have this country properly represented at Washington."

In spite of all the precautions that Dr. Whitman could take, it is evident that the object of his overland journey became known even to the Indians. Mr. Hines says:

[1] *Marcus Whitman, M.D.*, a pamphlet by Rev. M. Eells. Portland, 1883.

"The arrival of a large party of emigrants about this time and the sudden departure of Dr. Whitman to the United States, with the avowed intention of bringing back with him as many as he could enlist for Oregon, served to hasten them to the above conclusion [viz.: that the white people intended to destroy them and take possession of their country]. That a great excitement existed among the Indians of the interior, and that they designed to make war upon the settlement, was only known to the whites through the medium of vague report, until a letter was received from H. K. W. Perkins, at The Dalles, in which he informed us that the Wascopam and Walla Walla Indians had communicated to him in substance the following information: That the Indians are very much exasperated against the whites in consequence of so many of the latter coming into the country, to destroy their game and take away their lands; that the Nez Percés despatched one of their chiefs last winter on snow-shoes to visit the Indians in the buffalo country east of Fort Hall, for the purpose of exciting them to cut off the party that it is expected Dr. Whitman will bring back with him to settle the Nez Percé country." [1]

We cannot turn to the right hand or to the left in our investigations without finding additional testimony as to Whitman's intentions. Dr. William Geiger, Jr., for more than forty years a prominent man and noted physician in Oregon, testifies as follows:

"I came to this country in 1839, and was at Dr. Whitman's request in charge of his station in 1842-43, while he went east, and remained there after his return about three weeks, and had many conversations with him on the object of his going, after his return. I was there again in 1845 and 1846.

"His main object in going east was to save the country to the United States, as he believed there was great danger of its falling into the hands of England. Incidentally he intended to obtain more missionary help, and for this object I sent provisions to Fort Hall for them in 1843. The

[1] Hines, *History of Oregon*, pp. 143, 144.

immigration of 1842, especially Mr. A. L. Lovejoy, brought word that there was danger that the English would obtain Oregon, hence Dr. Whitman went east. When he reached Missouri he heard that the danger was very great of losing this country, hence he hurried on without taking time to get a clean shirt or pair of pants." [1]

Mrs. Lovejoy asserted that her husband was "aware of Whitman's aims and motives; knew that his great object in the journey was to save Oregon from British rule; and gave him credit in great part for accomplishing his patriotic intention." [2]

Mr. P. B. Whitman, Dr. Whitman's nephew, who went out with him to Oregon in the spring of 1843, said: "I heard him say repeatedly on the journey and after we reached his mission, Waiilatpu, that he went to the States in the winter of 1842–43 for the purpose of bringing an immigration with wagons across the plains to Oregon." [3] In another connection he has said:

"While crossing the plains I repeatedly heard the Doctor express himself as being very anxious to succeed in opening a wagon road across the continent to the Columbia River, and thereby stay, if not entirely prevent, the trading of this northwest coast, then pending between the United States and the British government. In after years the Doctor, with much pride and satisfaction, reverted to his success in bringing the immigration across the plains, and thought it one of the means of saving Oregon to his government. I remained with him continuously till August, 1847, when he sent me to The Dalles. He was murdered the following November." [4]

[1] Letter to Rev. M. Eells quoted in *Marcus Whitman*, by Rev. M. Eells, Portland, 1883.

[2] *Post-Intelligencer*, Seattle, November 17, 1882.

[3] Letter to Rev. M. Eells, dated February 10, 1882.

[4] *Weekly Astorian*, December 17, 1880.

Hon. Alanson Hinman, for many years a merchant at Forest Grove and president of the Board of Trustees of the Pacific University, testified thus:

"Dr. Whitman told me that he went east in 1842 with two objects, one to assist the mission, the other to save the country to the United States. I do not think he would have gone that winter, had it not been that the danger seemed to him very great that the country would be obtained by England, but would have deferred the journey until spring. He first went to Washington, afterwards to New York to see Mr. Horace Greeley, who was known to be a friend of this country. He went there dressed in his rough clothes, much the same that he wore across the continent. When he knocked at the door a lady came, Mrs. Greeley or a daughter, I think, and seeing such a rough-looking person, said to his inquiries for Mr. Greeley, 'Not at home.' Dr. Whitman started away. She went and told Mr. Greeley about him, and Mr. Greeley, who was of much the same style and cared but little for looks, looking out the window and seeing him going away, said to call him in. It was done, and they had a long talk about this northwest coast and its political relations." [1]

It is quite evident that when Dr. Whitman reached the frontier and learned that the Ashburton treaty had been concluded, leaving out Oregon entirely, he supposed that the government would soon make a new treaty for the Oregon northern boundary.

Mr. J. B. McLane, one of the 1843 emigrants, writes:

"The Doctor was a man among men. You may judge something of him by the following fact: The Indians (his own people sent by Dr. Geiger) had brought considerable flour to him at Fort Hall, and the morning we left there he distributed all the provisions he had to the needy emigrants, except about fifty pounds for five of us who were in his mess, and the only ones who went ahead of the wagons." [2]

[1] Letter to Rev. M. Eells, dated June 8, 1883.

[2] *Missionary Herald*, Boston, September, 1885.

A letter from Dr. Whitman to Dr. Greene, Secretary of the American Board, dated Vancouver, April 1, 1847, states his view of the situation in these words:

"American interests acquired in the country, which the success of the immigration of 1843 alone did and could have secured, have become the foundation of the late treaty between England and the United States in regard to Oregon; for it may be easily seen what would have become of American interests in this country had the results of that immigration been as disastrous as have been the two attempts in 1845 and 1846 to alter the route then followed. Any one may see that American interests, as now acquired, have had more to do in securing the treaty than our original rights. From 1835 till now it has been apparent that there was a choice only of two things: (1) The increase of British interests to the exclusion of all other rights in the country, or (2) the establishment of American interests by citizens on the ground. In the fall of 1842 I pointed out to our mission the arrangements of the papists to settle here, which might oblige us to retire. This was urged as a reason why I should return home and try to bring out men to carry on (the secular work of) the missionary stations, and (others) to settle in the country on the footing of citizens and not as missionaries. You will please receive this as an explanation of many of my measures and much of my policy." [1]

Dr. Hale, a dentist in St. Louis, in a letter written July 19, 1871, says: "I had the pleasure of entertaining Dr. Whitman at St. Louis on his visit to the East to confer with the President and heads of departments in relation to the settlement of the boundary question. Also on his return to Oregon, my house was his home while in St. Louis." [2]

A letter written by Dr. Whitman after his return to Oregon was lately published in *The Pacific*, having been sent to that paper by George H. Himes, Esq.,

[1] From the archives of the American Board.

[2] Letter to Rev. Thomas Laurie, D.D., of Providence, R. I.

of Portland, Oregon, assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society. In explanation he says: "The following letter, written by Dr. Whitman, the original of which is in my possession, shows plainly what his purposes were, and this letter has never been in print except in the transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association."

Waiilatpu, May 16, 1844.

My Dear Father and Mother: A little more than a year has elapsed since I had the pleasure of seeing you. The remembrance of that visit will never be effaced from my mind. I did not misjudge as to my duty to return home; the importance of my accompanying the emigration on one hand and the consequent scarcity of provisions on the other, strongly called for my return, and forbade my bringing another party that year.

As I hold the settlement of this country by Americans rather than by an English colony most important, I am happy to have been the means of landing so large an emigration on to the shores of the Columbia, with their wagons, families, and stock, all in safety.

The health of Narcissa was such in my absence and since my return as to call loudly for my presence. We despaired of her life at times and for the winter have not felt she could live long. But there is more hope at present, although nothing very decisive can be said. While on the way back, I had an inflammation in my foot which threatened to suppurate, but I discussed it and thought nothing more of it until I got home, when I found I had a tumor on the instep. It appears to be a bony tumor and has given me a good deal of apprehension and inconvenience, but is now some better, but not well.

It gives me much pleasure to be back and quietly at work again for the Indians. It does not concern me so much what is to become of any particular set of Indians, as to give them the offer of salvation through the gospel and the opportunity of civilization, and then I am content to do good to all men as "I have opportunity." I have no doubt our greatest work is to be to aid the white settlement of this country and help to found its religious institutions.

Providence has had its full share in all these events. Although the Indians have made and are making rapid advance in religious knowledge and civilization, yet it cannot be hoped that time will be allowed to mature either the work of Christianization or civilization before the white settlers will demand the soil and seek the removal of both the Indians and the Mission. What Americans desire of this kind they always effect, and it is equally useless to oppose or desire it otherwise. To guide, as far as can be done, and direct these tendencies for the best, is evidently the part of wisdom. Indeed, I am fully convinced that when a people refuse or neglect to fill the designs of Providence, they ought not to complain at the results; and so it is equally useless for Christians to be anxious on their account. The Indians have in no case obeyed the command to multiply and replenish the earth, and they cannot stand in the way of others doing so. A place will be left them to do this as fully as their ability to obey will permit, and the more we can do for them the more fully will this be realized. No exclusiveness can be asked for any portion of the human family. The exercise of his rights are all that can be desired. In order for this to its proper extent in regard to the Indians, it is necessary that they seek to preserve their rights by peaceable means only. Any violation of this rule will be visited with only evil results to themselves.

The Indians are anxious about the consequences of settlers among them, but I hope there will be no acts of violence on either hand. An evil affair at the Falls of the Willamette resulted in the death of two white men killed and one Indian. But all is now quiet. I will try to write to Brother Jackson, when I will treat of the country, etc.

It will not surprise me to see your whole family in this country in two years. Let us hear from you often. Narcissa may be able to write for herself. We wish to be remembered with your other children in your prayers.

Your affectionate son,

MARCUS WHITMAN.

Hon. STEPHEN PRENTISS,
Cuba, Allegheny Co., New York.

By way of comment Mr. Himes says:

"The above letter proves conclusively that Dr. Whitman

had a clear idea of the future relations of Oregon to the rest of the country, so far as its settlement by Americans was concerned, and that he was ready to do all in his power to promote its welfare, even to die, if need be, in order that American interests might prevail."

Probably many of our readers have before this raised in their own minds an inquiry as to why it is necessary to spend time in bringing forward such an array of evidence to show that Dr. Whitman made his perilous journey principally with this patriotic purpose; and doubtless, in reading the pages which follow, a similar question will be raised,—why take so much pains to prove that Whitman's horseback ride was instrumental in saving Oregon to the United States?

All this array of proof on these two points would be unnecessary had not a number of writers taken great pains to prove that Whitman had no such patriotic purpose in his trip east, and that he did nothing to aid the United States in retaining possession of the Oregon country. Reference has already been made to some statements of Mrs. Victor and the Hon. Elwood Evans. An extended discussion of Whitman's merits was carried on in several newspapers in the Oregon territory, especially in the Portland *Oregonian*, the *Astorian*, the *Walla Walla Watchman*, and the *East Oregonian*, in 1884 and 1885. Mrs. Victor and Elwood Evans opposed the claims that had been made for Whitman. In favor of these claims were articles by William H. Gray, Rev. Myron Eells, Harry L. Wells, Frank T. Gilbert, Edwin C. Ross, and others. The strength of the arguments and the great preponderance of evidence in these discussions were surely on the Whitman side.

The twenty-ninth volume of Hubert Howe Bancroft's works, which is understood to have been written

by Mrs. Victor, fails to give proper credit to Whitman for his services, and the narrative here and there abounds in discourteous, unnecessary, and untruthful flings at the missionaries and the American Board.

Mr. Gilbert, in his two large volumes, entitled *Historical Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia, and Garfield Counties, Washington* (Portland, 1882), and *History of Southern Oregon* (Portland, 1884), gives some account of Whitman's labors and sufferings for Oregon, fair and truthful in the main, but with certain errors of detail.

Gray's *History of Oregon* aims to be fair, but in some places claims are made for Whitman which are extreme and perhaps incapable of clear proof. Spalding, the missionary, a conscientious man of high character, in his later years endeavored to set Whitman right before the people of the United States, and his evidence is of great value, but in some details his memory cannot be trusted. At times the pictures are overdrawn and in some few instances there are direct errors of fact.

In 1858 the House of Representatives at Washington published in *Executive Document No. 38*, Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, covering the report of J. Ross Browne on the Indian war in Oregon. The secretary's report is made up of a letter of about a dozen pages from Ross Browne, who was then special agent of the Treasury Department, and a document of more than fifty pages copied bodily from the work entitled *Protestantism in Oregon*, by the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillett, who is styled the Vicar-General of Walla Walla. This document gives the Catholic version and explanation of the Whitman massacre. More than ten

years had passed since the great tragedy took place before this Catholic report was published by the House. Thirteen years later the other side of the affair was first presented when the Senate published *Executive Document No. 37*, Forty-first Congress, First Session. This document consisted of a letter from the Secretary of the Interior communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, information in relation to the early labors of the missionaries of the American Board in Oregon, beginning in 1836. The document is made up of material furnished to the Bureau of Indian Affairs by Mr. Spalding. It covers eighty pages and is full of information—much of it valuable—concerning these missions, Whitman's ride across the country, the emigration of 1843, but more especially a detailed account of the massacre.

Thus almost a quarter of a century was allowed to pass before the Protestant version of these Protestant missionary operations and their utter destruction by the great massacre of 1847 was presented to the American people. It is to be regretted that this document was published in the miscellaneous form in which it appeared. It would have been far better could it have been properly edited and its statements either verified or, when not capable of verification, omitted. The document is of great value for the wealth of information which it contains, but it is not well put together and is not, in all respects, reliable. However, such as it is, in the hands of careful historical students all over the country it would have proved of great value, had not the edition in a short time almost entirely disappeared. Within a few years of the date of its publication the writer made strong efforts to secure a copy of it. Representatives and senators

reported to him that a copy could not be found in the Capitol at Washington. He continued his search for several years, and in 1880 one of the New England senators sent him the document with the remark, "This is the only copy I can find in the city of Washington."

The errors in this document, and perhaps overstatements by writers on Whitman's winter journey, have made still more imperative a careful and critical account of this chapter in our history. It seemed necessary to make this somewhat lengthy explanation in order to give sufficient reason for entering into such detail with reference to the motives of Whitman in his famous ride and his influence in promoting and assisting the emigration to Oregon in 1843.

CHAPTER XII

WHITMAN'S RIDE

HISTORY is full of remarkable rides. The story of the ride of Paul Revere is known the world over through Longfellow's famous poem; but that was the ride of a single night to warn the patriots of the approach of the British army. *The Ride of Collins Grave*, by O'Reilly, tells how the hero saved a town from flood. Sheridan's ride during our Civil War, as portrayed by the poet, Buchanan Read, has been told everywhere; but that was the ride of a few hours which turned the tide of a battle. *The King of Denmark's Ride*, by Mrs. Norton, and *How they Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*, by Browning, are poems of great beauty, but they lack the historic background.

Couriers with relays of horses rode from our country to Texas to carry the news that Congress had voted annexation. But in that transaction there was no heroism, no suffering, no hairbreadth escapes. It was hardly more than the ordinary performance of the mail carriers.

Stanley's search for Livingstone is a famous narrative of great adventure and of important purpose, but Stanley had a large party with him. It was not like a ride with a single companion, nor was it made in the depth of winter.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was from Missouri to the Columbia, but that was an organized, military company with ample supplies. Moreover, they traveled in summer and went into camp in winter.

Whitman's ride was the heroic deed of one man with a single companion. It was a ride of between twenty-five hundred and three thousand miles, occupying between four and five months, beginning with the first snows of the autumn and ending at the frontier nearly a month before the sun had reached the vernal equinox. Whatever supplies he had,—including food for himself, his companion, and his guide, provender for his horses, and blankets to sleep in upon the frozen ground at night,—he was obliged to carry with him upon his beasts of burden. Snowstorms must be encountered, and wild beasts and Indians guarded against. There were no caravanseries on the way where the tired traveler and his beast of burden could find comfortable rest and refreshment at night. The steep hillside, the deep cañon, or the secluded rocky den, night after night, formed his bedchamber. He carried with him his pemmican and flour, and either he, his companion, or the guide would occasionally shoot wild game with which to replenish the larder. His only resting-places through this long winter's journey were at Fort Hall in Idaho, Fort Uintah in Utah, Fort Uncompahgre in Colorado, Fort Taos and Santa Fé in New Mexico, and Bent's Fort in Colorado. At these forts he not only rested but exchanged guides, and sometimes he was obliged to exchange his horses and mules for fresh ones.

Ah, what a journey was that! What heroism, what endurance, what persistence, what energy it required; what suffering it entailed, what hunger and freezing

cold! The long snowstorms, the chilling blizzard, the swimming of frozen streams, these are words easy to speak, simple to read, but do they convey to our minds any adequate idea of the reality?

Hezekiah Butterworth, the well-known and popular writer, is the author of a beautiful poem upon this famous ride. He has kindly given his permission for its insertion here. It requires careful reading to bring out all its delicate allusions, and it will repay thoughtful study.

WHITMAN'S RIDE FOR OREGON.

BY HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH.

"An empire to be lost or won!
And who four thousand miles will ride
And climb to heaven the Great Divide,
And find the way to Washington,
Through mountain cañons, winter snows,
O'er streams where free the north wind blows?
Who, who will ride from Walla Walla,
Four thousand miles from Oregon?"—
So rang the question through the sky.

"An empire to be lost or won?
In youth, to man I gave my all,
And nought is yonder mountain wall;
If but the will of Heaven be done,
It is not mine to live or die,
Or count the mountains low or high,
Or count the miles from Walla Walla.
The soul hath neither space nor time;
The god 'Terminus' is dead.
Beneath the curtain of the sky
I slept, while half the nation said
'There is no road to Oregon,'
And bounded earth as 't were a plain.
I once have ridden for Oregon,
And I for her will ride again!"
'T was thus that Whitman made reply,
By Walla Walla River.

"An empire to be lost or won?
Bring me my cayuse pony then,
And I will tread old ways, as when
Beneath the gray skies' crystal sun,
Upon the altar of the air
I raised the flag and saw below
The measureless Columbia flow;
The Bible ope'd, and bowed in prayer,
And gave myself to God anew,
And felt my spirit newly born.
Now to my mission I 'll be true;
I, I will ride for Walla Walla,
I 'll ride again for Oregon!"
'T was thus that Whitman made reply,
By Walla Walla River.

October burning in the wood,
The russet leaves half crisped, half gone,
By Walla Walla River stood
The once fair brides of Oregon.
They saw the steed impatient stamp,
They heard the sly coyote cry;
With waving hand, while filled the camp
The shining dust of alkali,
They saw him point to Heaven, and move
Beside the river, o'er the plain,
They saw the phantom mountains move
Before his mighty faith again,
By Walla Walla River.

He disappeared as not his own.
He heard the warning ice-winds sigh,
The smoking sun-flames o'er him shone
On whitened altars of the sky.
As up the mountain sides he rose,
The wandering eagle round him wheeled,
The partridge fled, the gentle roes;
And oft his cayuse pony reeled
Upon some dizzy crag, and gazed
Down cloudy chasms, falling storms,
While higher yet the peaks upraised
Against the winds their giant forms.

Said the Shoshonee to the Nez Percé,
"Who rides with the storm, ho, ho!
With a robe of ice was covered his form,
And covered his tracks the snow?"
Said the Nez Percé to the Shoshonee,
"He came and went with the wind,
He followed the guide of his soul before,
And left no trail behind" —
"The gods him beckoned; he went his way,"
Said the Shoshonee and the Nez Percé.

December came, the grizzly hid,
The cacti turned to white,
And half the day was cloud and storm,
And half was cloud and night.
"Impossible!" exclaimed the guide.
"Impossible! no, no!"
Before him bowed the Great Divide
And parted plains of snow.

On, on and on, past Idaho,
On past the mighty saline sea,
His covering at night the snow,
His only sentinel a tree.
On, past Portneuf's basaltic heights,
On, where San Juan mountains lay,
Through sunless days and starless nights,
Toward Taos and far Santa Fé.
Now kneeling in the starlit snow,
Now warmed by lone Fort Uintah,
Now scanning in horizons low
The fortress of Uncompahgre.
O'er tablelands of sleet and hail,
Through pine-roofed gorges, cañons cold,
Now fording streams encased in mail
Of ice, like Alpine knights of old.
"The open Bible 'neath the flag
I planted on the mountain crag,
While wheeled the eagle in the sun,
And I 'll defend what I have won."
He said, and spurred his thin steed on,
Till far behind him lay Walla Walla,

And far the fields of Oregon.
'T was thus that Whitman made reply.

Said the Navajo to the Apache chief,
"Who rides with the storm, ho, ho!
With the robe of death was covered his form,
And covered his track the snow?"
Said the Apache chief to the Navajo,
"He came and went with the wind,
He followed a guide unseen before,
And left no trail behind—
The gods him beckoned,—so let him go!"
Said the Apache chief to the Navajo.

The winter deepened, sharper grew
The hail and sleet, the frost and snow;
Not e'en the eagle o'er him flew,
And scarce the partridge's wing below.
The land became a long white sea,
And then a deep with scarce a coast,
The stars refused their light, till he
Was in the wildering mazes lost.
He dropped the rein, his stiffened hand
Was like a statue's hand of clay.
"My trusty beast, 't is the command,
Go on, I leave to thee the way.
The open Bible 'neath the flag
I set upon the mountain crag,
While screamed the eagles in the sun;
I must defend what I have won.
I must go on, I must go on,
Whatever lot may fall to me;
On! 't is for others' sake I ride,
For others I may never see,
And dare the clouds, O Great Divide,
Not for myself, O Walla Walla,
Not for myself, O Washington;
But for thy future, Oregon!"
'T was thus that Whitman made reply.

On, on and on, the dumb beast pressed,
Uncertain and without a guide,

And found the mountain's curve of rest,
  And open ways of the Divide.
His feet grew firm, he found the way
  With storm-beat limbs and frozen breath,
As keen his instincts to obey,
  As was his master's eye of faith.
"Hark! What is that?" the Indian said.
  An echo answered him. "Who passed
O'er flinty rock and watershed
  To pathless forests dim and vast?"
The horse's hoof made but reply
On rocky stairs adown the sky.
  Still on and on, still on and on,
    And far and far grew Walla Walla,
  And far the fields of Oregon.

That spring, a man with frozen feet
  Came to the marble halls of State,
And told his mission, but to meet
  The chill of scorn, the scoff of hate.
"Is Oregon worth saving?" asked
  The treaty-makers from the coast;
And him keen lips with questions tasked,
'Mid scornful hearts, with faces masked,
  And said, "Why did you leave your post?"

He stood amid the halls of State,
  In tattered garments fringed by storms,
And told how he had ridden with fate,
  And borne an empire in his arms.
More bitter than the mountain winds
  An answering voice renewed his pains,
"I would not give a whiff of smoke
  For all the land beyond the plains!"
Was it for this that he had braved
  The warring storms of mount and sky?
Yes! Yet that empire he had saved,
  And to his post went back to die—
Went back to die for others' sake,
  For that grand empire 'neath the flag
  That he had lifted o'er the crag,
    Above the mighty Puget sea;
    Went back for great humanity,

Went back to die for Washington,
Went back to die for Walla Walla,
For Idaho and Oregon !
'T was thus that Whitman made reply.

Now on the gleaming hills again,
Fair autumn sets her plumes of gold ;
Two women's eyes look down the plain,
And there a hero's form behold.
The rising world shall map his track,
The vales and peaks his name shall hold,
And earth-worn feet shall follow back
The empires new and empires old,
And gather 'neath the flag unrolled
By Walla Walla River.

At Walla Walla one may see
The city of the western North;
And near it graves unmarked there be
That cover souls of royal worth.
The flag waves o'er them in the sky,
Beneath whose stars are cities born,
And round them mountain-castled lie
The hundred towns of Oregon.

I hear the tread of nations there ;
The engine shrieks where eagles screamed,
And ring the silver bells of prayer,
Where voiceless the Columbia gleamed.
I hear a thousand hammers beat
The march of cities 'neath the crag :
Halt, halt, O hosts of hurrying feet !
The eagles sweep celestial air ;
Halt ! give the password ! let it be
The solitary rider's word,
That but the echoing mountain heard :
" All things are possible to faith,
To him who lifts in prayer the flag,
And dares the fortress of the sky ! "
The future has its Walla Walla,
And peopled vales of Oregon,
Where Whitman and his heroes lie,
By Walla Walla River.

Dr. Whitman's single companion was Amos Lawrence Lovejoy, a young man from Boston, a nephew of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, who was at one time our minister to England. He had come west in the summer of 1842 with a company of immigrants. This party arrived near Whitman's station early in September, and Dr. Whitman soon made the acquaintance of Lovejoy. Years afterwards Lovejoy wrote as follows:

"After numerous conversations with the Doctor touching the future prosperity of Oregon, he asked me one day in a very anxious manner if I thought it would be possible for him to cross the mountains at that time of year. I told him I thought he could. He next asked me, 'Will you accompany me?' After a little reflection I told him I would."

What motive could be strong enough to induce Lovejoy, who had just completed the long and arduous journey across the continent, to turn about and accompany Dr. Whitman on an extra hazardous ride over the mountains in the winter? It can hardly be supposed that he had any special interest in Whitman's missionary operations. But if, on the other hand, he was impressed with the political and patriotic motives which actuated Whitman, those motives might influence him to make the sacrifice.

Whitman arranged to have Dr. Geiger take charge of the mission during his absence. Mrs. Whitman, the brave woman that she was, consented to his going. She was to remain at the mission for a time, and afterwards she went to The Dalles and spent most of the winter in the family of Rev. H. K. W. Perkins. Mr. Perkins afterwards came east and was for many years a city missionary in Boston, where he died a few years ago.

It is the morning of October 3d, a bright, clear day. Dr. Whitman has secured a proper supply of horses and mules, his favorite "Cayuse" for himself, a horse for Lovejoy, one for the guide, and the mules to carry the supplies.

All have gathered at his house to shake hands, wish him a *bon voyage*, and to give him a cheer at his start. There is Mrs. Whitman standing in the doorway, Mr. and Mrs. Gray by his horse, the Indian school children, thirty or forty of them, grouped around Mrs. Whitman, their teacher. All his Indian friends who live near by are present. The supplies are well strapped upon the backs of the mules. The horses are saddled. With a wave of the hand and an unbidden tear in the eye, Whitman mounts his fleet "Cayuse." Lovejoy and the guide are already in the saddle, a good number of his devoted Indian friends mount their horses to accompany him on the first day's trip, and they are off. The air is crisp and invigorating, and the horses are fresh and spirited. His Indian friends urge on the mules. They make a long day's journey. At night the horses are tethered, the fire is built, their supper eaten, and, wearied with the long ride, they sleep soundly till morning. They are up betimes, the fire is kindled, coffee boiled, breakfast eaten, pack animals are in readiness, horses saddled, and they are off at the first peep of the sun-rising.

In eleven days, according to Lovejoy's account, they reached Fort Hall, having compassed the distance of about four hundred miles, at the rate of forty miles a day. Through the entire trip Dr. Whitman never traveled on Sunday; his traveling time, therefore, was ten days.

Scarcely a day had they been on their way when the

Indians (doubtless so instructed) forbade them to proceed, but by parley they got away. At Fort Hall Dr. Whitman was uncertain what to do. He feared the hostility of the mountain Indians, spurred on by instructions such as those whom he had already met had evidently received. Captain Grant at Fort Hall told him that the Pawnees and the Sioux were at war and that he would lose his life if he endeavored to go through their country. Besides, it was reported that the snow in the mountains was very deep. He must, therefore, turn back or wait till spring.

But Dr. Whitman was not the man to turn back. He now determined to thwart completely the designs of his enemies by changing from a direct route through the South Pass to a more southerly course through "the Spanish country," as it was then called. Instead, therefore, of pursuing the well-known path eastward, he turned southward and took the old Spanish trail for Santa Fé. This route added nearly a thousand miles to the distance to be traveled. Taking a guide from Fort Hall, he pushed on across the northeast corner of Utah to Fort Uintah, which was nearly south from Fort Bridger in the Uintah Mountains. On their way from Fort Hall to Fort Uintah they had terribly severe weather. The snows were deep, blinding the travelers and so retarding their progress that they lost much time. At Fort Uintah they rested and changed guides; and then continued their journey across Green River, up one of its branches and over to the valley of the Grand River.

They were now in what has since become the state of Colorado. Their next stopping place was Fort Uncompahgre, which was situated on what is now called Uncompahgre River in the Uncompahgre Mountains.

They were crossing the highlands among the irregular spurs of the Rocky Mountains. Their stay at Fort Uncompahgre was short. They made a few purchases, took a new guide, and left for Fort Taos.[1]

General Lovejoy wrote a letter to Mr. Gray, and later another to Dr. Atkinson, describing their journey from Waiilatpu to Bent's Fort. In these letters, which are substantially the same, although each has certain details not found in the other, the General gives a graphic description of their experiences in the Rocky Mountains. Of their journey after leaving Uncompahgre, he says:

"When we had been out four or five days and were passing over high tablelands we encountered a most terrific snow storm, which forced us to seek shelter at once. A deep ravine being near by, we quickly made for it, but the snow fell so rapidly, and the wind blew with such violence, that it was almost impossible to reach it. After reaching the ravine, and cutting some cotton-wood trees for our animals, we attempted such arrangements for camp as best we could under the circumstances, and remained snowed in for some three or four days, when the storm subsided, and it cleared off intensely cold. It was with much difficulty that we made our way up upon the high lands; the snow was so deep and the wind so piercing and cold, that we felt compelled to return to camp and wait a few days for a change of weather.

"Our next effort was more successful, and after spending several days wandering round in the snow, without making much headway, and greatly fatiguing our animals, to little or no purpose, our guide informed us that the deep snows had so changed the face of the country, that he was completely lost, and could take us no farther.

"This was a terrible blow to the Doctor. He was determined not to give up without another effort. And we at once agreed that the Doctor should take the guide and make his way back to the fort, and procure a new

[1] Pronounced Tah'-ōse.

guide, and that I should remain in camp with the animals until his return, which was on the seventh day, with a new guide."

This was the most serious detention which they experienced in the whole trip. First they had a four days' snowstorm. One day was spent in a vain attempt to proceed, but they were compelled to return to their camp. A few days more they waited "for a change of weather"; then they made another unsuccessful attempt to proceed. After that Lovejoy was left in camp with the animals while Dr. Whitman made his way back to Fort Uncompahgre for a new guide. In thus retracing his steps and returning to Lovejoy's camp, another whole week was wasted. They must, therefore, have lost more than two weeks' time from this terrific snowstorm. But what must we think of Lovejoy, their horses, pack animals, and their faithful dog in that camp during an entire week! It was the dead of winter. He was one man, alone, in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, in an unfrequented pass. His friend, the Doctor, had gone back for a new guide, and it was uncertain whether he would be able to reach the fort. If he should be so fortunate as to succeed in that attempt and should start with a new guide, would that guide be able to find him in his mountain fastness? In his solitude during that longest week of the entire trip, probably the longest of his life, he must have made much of the companionship of their little dog. It is sad to think that a little farther on in their journey, when their provisions had utterly failed, not only were they obliged to kill a mule for food to save their lives, but stern necessity compelled them to kill and eat that faithful dog.

At length, however, the Doctor and the new guide appeared. Let Lovejoy tell the story :

"We were soon under way on our route, traveling through the snows at rather a snail's pace. Nothing occurred of much importance other than hard and slow traveling until we reached, as our guide informed us, the Grand River, which was frozen, on either side, about one third across. The current was so very rapid that the center of the stream remained open, although the weather was intensely cold.

"This stream was one hundred and fifty, or two hundred yards wide, and looked upon by our guide as very dangerous to cross in its present condition. But the Doctor, nothing daunted, was the first to take the water. He mounted his horse, and the guide and myself pushed them off the ice into the boiling, foaming stream. Away they went completely under water,— horse and all; but directly came up, and after buffeting the waves and foaming current, he made his way to the ice on the opposite side, a long way down the stream,— leaped from his horse upon the ice, and soon had his noble animal by his side. The guide and myself forced in the pack animals, followed the Doctor's example, and were soon drying our frozen clothes by a comfortable fire."

What was perhaps the most severe and serious adventure is related as follows:

"On that terrible 13th of January, 1843, when so many in all parts of our country froze to death, the Doctor, against the advice of his Mexican guide, left his camp in a deep gorge of the mountains of New Mexico, in the morning, to pursue his journey. But on reaching the divide, the cold became so intense, and the animals actually becoming maddened by the driving snows, the Doctor saw his peril, and attempted to retrace his steps, and, if possible, to find his camp, as the only hope of saving their lives. But the drifting snow had totally obliterated every trace, and the air becoming almost as dark as night by the maddening storm, the Doctor saw that it would be impossible for any human being to find camp, and commending himself and distant wife to his covenant-keeping God, he gave himself,

his faithful guide, and animals up to their snowy grave, which was fast closing about them, when the guide, observing the ears of one of the mules intently bent forward, sprang upon him, giving him the reins, exclaiming: 'This mule will find the camp if he can live to reach it.' The Doctor mounted another and followed. The faithful animal kept down the divide a short distance, and then turned square down the steep mountain. Through deep snowdrifts, over frightful precipices, down, down, he pushed, unguided and unurged,—as if he knew the lives of the two men and the fate of the great expedition depended upon his endurance and his faithfulness,— and into the thick timber, and stopped suddenly over a bare spot, and as the Doctor dismounted,— the Mexican was too far gone,— behold the very fireplace of their morning camp! Two brands of fire were yet alive and smoking; plenty of timber in reach. The buffalo hides had done much to protect the Doctor, and providentially he could move about and collect dry limbs, and soon had a rousing fire. The guide revived, but both were badly frozen. They remained in this secluded hole in the mountains several days, till the cold and the storm abated.

"At another time, with another guide, on the headwaters of the Arkansas, after traveling all day in a terrible storm, they reached a small river for camp, but without a stick of wood anywhere to be had except on the other side of the stream, which was covered with ice, but too thin to support a man erect. The storm cleared away, and the night bade fair to be intensely cold; besides, they must have fire to prepare bread and food. The Doctor took his ax in one hand and a willow stick in the other, laid himself upon the thin ice, and spreading his legs and arms he worked himself over on his breast, cut his wood and slid it over, and returned the same way.

"That was the last time the Doctor enjoyed the luxury of his ax — so indispensable at that season of the year, in such a country. That night a wolf poked his nose under the foot of the bed where the ax had been placed for safekeeping, and took it off for a leather string that had been wrapped around the split helve." [1]

They now pushed on at a slow rate on account of

[1] *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, Forty-first Congress, Third Session.

the depth of snow and the great severity of the cold. They continued to suffer severely from want of provisions and were compelled to eat the flesh of mules, dogs, and other animals. Arriving at Fort Taos, they rested about two weeks, being completely worn out and emaciated by hunger and constant exposure.

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM FORT TAOS

AT Fort Taos they exchanged their worn-out animals for fresh ones, and purchased necessary supplies for their future journey. Then they set forward for Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River above Fort Lyon, and not far from the present La Junta, in Colorado. Their route, as described by Lovejoy in a letter to Dr. Atkinson, lay through Santa Fé, the present capital of New Mexico, and the oldest town in the United States, except St. Augustine. From Santa Fé they passed through or around the mountains, and turning to a northeasterly direction, pushed forward towards the Arkansas River by a well-traveled trail, which, however, was of far less use in the winter than it would have been in the summer.

On the 29th of December, while on their way between Taos and the Arkansas, they met George Bent, the brother of Governor Bent, who told them that a party of mountain men would leave Bent's Fort in a few days for St. Louis, but that he thought it would be impossible for them to reach the fort with their pack animals in season to join the company. Of the rest of their journey General Lovejoy writes thus:

"The Doctor, being very anxious to join the party so that he could push on as rapidly as possible to Wash-

ington, concluded to leave myself and guide with the animals, and he himself taking his best horse, with some bedding and a small allowance of provisions, started alone, hoping by rapid travel to reach the fort in time to join the St. Louis party; but to do so he would have to travel on the Sabbath, something he had not done before. Myself and guide traveled on slowly and reached the fort in four days [Tuesday, Jan. 3, 1843 [1]], but imagine our astonishment when on making enquiry about the Doctor we were told that he had not arrived nor had he been heard of. I learned that the party for St. Louis was camped at the Big Cottonwood, forty miles from the fort, and at my request Mr. Savery sent an express, telling the party not to proceed any farther until he learned something of Dr. Whitman's whereabouts, as he wished to accompany them to St. Louis. Being furnished by the gentlemen of the fort with a suitable guide I started in search of the Doctor [Wednesday, the 4th] and traveled up the river about one hundred miles. I learned from the Indians that a man had been there who was lost and was trying to find Bent's Fort. They said they had directed him to go down the river and how to find the fort. I knew from their description it was the Doctor. I returned to the fort as rapidly as possible, but the Doctor had not arrived [this was Friday, the 6th]. We had all become very anxious about him.

"Late in the afternoon he came in very much fatigued and desponding; said that he knew that God had bewildered him to punish him for traveling on the Sabbath. During the whole trip he was very regular in his morning and evening devotions, and that was the only time I ever knew him to travel on the Sabbath." [2]

Here Dr. Whitman and his companion separated. Mr. Lovejoy was completely worn out by the hardships of the journey. He remained here to rest and recuperate and, as he says in this same letter, he "joined the Doctor the following July near Fort Laramie, on his way to Oregon with a train of emigrants." The next morning, January 7th, after giving

[1] The dates here given are compiled from the best authorities and are believed to be correct. [2] Lovejoy's letter.

himself only one night's rest, the Doctor started to overtake the party of mountain men.

It is to be regretted that no account can be obtained of that long journey from Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas to the frontier settlements on the western borders of Missouri. The distance is more than four hundred miles, and the trail which he followed lay for about half the distance along the banks of the Arkansas to Great Bend, thence across the country to the Smoky Hill River, and down that and the Kansas River to the junction of the latter with the Missouri. A few miles to the south of the junction of these two rivers was the little town of Westport, Missouri. It would seem that Dr. Whitman would have arrived at Westport toward the last of January. How long he stayed in this vicinity we do not know, but evidently long enough to put in operation plans to aid in raising a large company of emigrants the following spring to go over to Oregon. It seems probable that Mr. Lovejoy also would busy himself in giving information to these frontiersmen, and perhaps he may have induced many to prepare to go to Oregon. Of the condition of affairs here we are told:

"He found many of the now old Oregonians, Waldo, Hamtree, Keyser, and others who had once made calculations to go to Oregon but had abandoned the idea, because of the representations from Washington that every attempt to take wagons and ox teams through the Rocky and Blue mountains to the Columbia had failed. Dr. Whitman saw at once what the stopping of wagons at Fort Hall every year meant. The representations purported to come from Secretary Webster, but really from Governor Simpson, who, magnifying the statements of his chief trader, Grant, at Fort Hall, declared the Americans must be going mad, from their repeated fruitless attempts to take wagons and teams through these impassable regions to the Columbia, and that

the women and children of these wild fanatics had been saved from a terrible death only by the repeated and philanthropic labors of Mr. Grant, at Fort Hall, in furnishing them with horses. The Doctor told these men as he met them that his only object in crossing the mountains in the dead of winter, at the risk of his life, and through untold sufferings, was to take back an American emigration the following summer through the mountains to the Columbia, with their wagons and their teams. The route was practicable. We had taken our cattle and our families through seven years before. They had nothing to fear; but to be ready at his return. The stopping of wagons at Fort Hall was a Hudson's Bay Company's scheme to prevent the settling of the country by Americans till they could occupy it with their own subjects from the Selkirk settlement. This news spread like fire through Missouri, as will be seen by Mr. Zachrey's statement." [1]

The statement referred to is made in a letter from John Zachrey to Mr. Spalding, dated February 7, 1868. He says:

"My father and his family emigrated to Oregon in 1843, from the state of Texas. I was then seventeen years old. The occasion of my father's starting that season for this country, as also several of our neighbors, was the publication by Dr. Whitman, or from his representations, concerning Oregon and the route from the States to Oregon. On the pamphlet the Doctor described Oregon, the soil, climate, and its desirableness for American colonists, and said that he had crossed the Rocky Mountains that winter principally to take back that season a train of wagons to Oregon. We had been told that wagons could not be taken beyond Fort Hall. But in this pamphlet the Doctor assured his countrymen that wagons could be taken through from Fort Hall to the Columbia River, and to The Dalles, and thence by boat to the Willamette; that himself and mission party had taken their families, cattle, and wagons through to the Columbia, six years before. It was this assurance of the missionary that induced my father and several of his neighbors to sell out and start at once for this country." [2]

[1] Mr. Spalding's lecture.

[2] Letter of John Zachrey in *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, Forty-first Congress, Third Session.

From the above it would appear that Dr. Whitman talked over with those brave pioneers the route, the resources of Oregon, its climate, productions, etc., and arranged for them to publish a pamphlet, quoting him as authority, designed to induce men to join the party which would start the following spring. Other circumstances conduced also to turn attention to Oregon at this time. Burnett, in his *Recollections*,[1] says:

"During the winter of 1842–43 the congressional report of Senator Appleton in reference to Oregon fell into my hands, and was read with great care. This able report contained a very accurate description of that country. At the same time there was a bill pending in Congress, introduced in the Senate by Dr. Linn, one of the senators from Missouri, which proposed to donate to each emigrant six hundred and forty acres of land for himself, and one hundred and sixty acres for each child. I had a wife and six children, and would therefore be entitled to sixteen hundred acres. There was a fair prospect of the ultimate passing of the bill."

The Doctor encouraged them to make persistent efforts to gather together as large a company as possible, and said that he would return after he had been to Washington and accompany them across the plains and over the mountains. He then left the frontier and pushed on to St. Louis.

Dr. Eells told the writer that Dr. Whitman's dress upon this journey consisted of buckskin trousers, a waistcoat, and a blue English duffle coat. This "duffle" was firm, close-woven, and thicker than a "Mackinaw blanket." Over this he wore a buffalo overcoat, which was a few inches shorter than the duffle. Dr. Whitman remarked to Dr. Eells, in describing this dress (putting his hands down towards his knee, to illustrate), that it was "rather fantastic for a missionary, a buffalo coat with a blue border."

[1] Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, p. 97.

CHAPTER XIV

DR. WHITMAN IN WASHINGTON

REV. WILLIAM BARROWS, D.D., who met Dr. Whitman in St. Louis, states that he was in great haste to reach Washington. He says:

"In those times it was a rare possibility for one to come up in midwinter from Bent's Fort or Santa Fé, much more from Fort Hall and the Columbia. The Rocky Mountain men, trappers and traders, the adventurers in New Mexico, and the contractors for our military posts, laying up vast fortunes, half from the Government and half from the poor Indians, gathered about Dr. Whitman for fresh news from their places of interest.

"What about furs and peltries? How many buffalo robes would come down by June on the spring rise of the Missouri? Were Indian goods at the posts flush, or fair, or scant supply?

"But the Doctor was in great haste, and could not delay to talk of beaver and Indian goods, and wars, and reservations, and treaties. He had questions and not answers. Was the Ashburton treaty concluded? Did it cover the Northwest? Where and what and whose did it leave Oregon? He was soon answered. Webster and Ashburton had signed that treaty on the 9th of August preceding.

"Then, instantly, he had other questions for his St. Louis visitors. Was the Oregon question under discussion in Congress? What opinions, projects, or bills concerning it were being urged in Senate and House? Would anything important be settled before the approaching adjournment on the fourth of March? Could he reach Washington before the adjournment? He must leave at once, and he went.

"With all the warmth and almost burden of skin and fur clothing, he bore the marks of the irresistible cold and merciless storms of his journey. His fingers, ears, nose and feet had been frost-bitten, and were giving him much trouble.

". . . Exchanging saddle for stage — for the river was closed by ice—he pressed on, and arrived at Washington March 3d."[1]

Dr. S. J. Parker, of Ithaca, N. Y., son of Rev. Samuel Parker with whom Dr. Whitman first crossed the mountains, writes as follows:

"I was at home, in the room in which I now write (as I own the old homestead) when Dr. Whitman, in 1843, unexpectedly arrived. . . .

"After the surprise of his arrival was over, he said to my father: 'I have come on a very important errand. We must go at once to Washington, or Oregon is lost, ceded to the English.' My father objected to going, and thought the danger less than Dr. Whitman thought it was. They talked several hours about it. . . . Dr. Whitman went either the next day or a day or two after he came to see my father. . . . After his return from Washington he described his interview with the President and others there. At both times the subject of emigration was talked of. Dr. Whitman said many in Illinois and Missouri, etc., were ready to go in the spring as soon as grass grew. It must have been February the Doctor was here."[2]

It is supposed that Dr. Whitman reached Washington some time in February, or, at the very latest, by the first of March. Some writers who deny the political purposes and efforts of Dr. Whitman, have claimed that he could not have reached Washington till much later than the first of March. Professor Bourne, in the *Historical Review*, quotes from a letter-book in the office

[1] Rev. William Barrows, D.D., in the *New York Observer*, December 21, 1882.

[2] Rev. M. Eells, *Marcus Whitman*. Portland, 1883.

of the American Board at Boston, making Whitman himself say that he arrived at Westport, Missouri, on the 15th of February. But it should be noticed that the quotation is not from Whitman's own writing. It is from a memorandum submitted to the Prudential Committee, April 4, 1843. This memorandum was evidently prepared by some one who had heard what Whitman had said. Probably notes were taken of Whitman's statements and written out afterwards to put on record. This date itself is an interpolation. At first it was written as follows: "Left the Oregon country 3 October 1842 and arrived in Boston 30 March 1843." Then, after the word "arrived," was interlined: "At Westport, Mo., 15 February and."

If this date be correct how can it be reconciled with Lovejoy's statement in his letter to Dr. Atkinson that Whitman left Bent's Fort January 7th? The distance from Bent's Fort to Westport is something over four hundred miles. It would be strange if this party of mountain men going on business to St. Louis should travel at the rate of only ten miles a day, especially when the entire distance lay through a level country and over a well-defined trail.

And moreover, even if this date is correct, it merely places the time of his arrival in Washington after the adjournment of Congress, and by no means vitiates the fact that Whitman went to Washington, even though it has generally been understood that he reached there before March 4th. We know that he had interviews with the President and members of the cabinet, together with some members of Congress, and his influence with the government could have been just as great after Congress had adjourned as before.

Governor Ramsey, the well-known statesman, once

governor of Minnesota Territory, in a letter from Salt Lake City, dated August 15, 1883, says:

"In the winter of 1842–43 I visited Washington and called upon Hon. Joshua Giddings who was at that time boarding at Mrs. ——'s on Capitol Hill, in what was then called 'Duff Green's Row.' The building is still standing. When so visiting, Mr. Giddings introduced me to Dr. Whitman, who talked to me and others of the difficulties of his journey, of the character of the country, Indian affairs, British encroachments, etc."

Exactly what happened in Washington is difficult to determine. From the best reports we feel quite sure that the following account is not far from the truth.

On arriving at Washington Whitman first sought an interview with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State under President Tyler. He found Mr. Webster strongly impressed with the idea that Oregon was useless to our country on account of the impassable character of the mountains. It was plainly apparent to Dr. Whitman that Lord Ashburton, Sir George Simpson, and others with British proclivities had thoroughly indoctrinated our statesmen with the idea that the Rocky Mountains were impassable to wagons, that Oregon could not be peopled from the States, and therefore its value to this country was very small.

Dr. Whitman tried to convince Mr. Webster that he was the victim of false representations with regard to the character of the region, and told him that he intended to take over a train of emigrants to Oregon the coming summer. After a protracted interview with Mr. Webster, Dr. Whitman took leave thoroughly disheartened.

Nothing daunted, however, the Doctor obtained through Senator Linn of Missouri, a staunch and firm

friend of Oregon, an interview with President Tyler. He found that the President entertained precisely the same views of the uselessness of Oregon to the United States that he had just heard from Mr. Webster. He told the President that he had been over the mountains himself four times, once in the dead of winter; that he had taken a wagon over seven years before; and that it was his intention to carry a large delegation to Oregon from the frontier that spring.

Dr. Whitman argued his case, not only before the President, but before senators and representatives, endeavoring to impress upon them all the value of the country, its excellent soil, healthful climate, and its importance to this nation in the future. He pressed upon them the fact that a large emigration would go across the mountains during the next season, and that they, being American citizens, would claim protection from the national government.

Finally, we are told that the President gave his decision to the following effect:

"Although his representations of Oregon and the possibility of reaching it by wagon route were in direct contradiction to those of Governor Simpson, yet his frozen limbs were sufficient proof of his sincerity, and his missionary character was sufficient guarantee of his honesty, and he would, therefore, as President, rest upon them and act accordingly. If the Doctor could establish a wagon route through the mountains to the Columbia River, hitherto pronounced impassable, he would use his influence to hold Oregon." [1]

Having received a conditional promise of protection if his emigration should succeed, Dr. Whitman assured the President that the emigrants would go over, and that they would look to him to protect them when they had reached their destination, and would expect the

[1] Rev. Mr. Spalding.

moral support of the government and the necessary legislation by Congress. The President promised him protection and wished him success in his arduous and patriotic undertakings.

Dr. Whitman's intensely loyal, patriotic, and Christian heart bounded with delight. If now he could succeed in opening a wagon road through the mountains to the Columbia River, he felt sure that we should hold Oregon securely for freedom and the Protestant religion. As he afterwards expressed it to his coworker, Mr. Spalding, he was at once filled with a strong belief that, "God giving him life and strength, he would connect the Missouri and Columbia with a wagon track so deep and plain that neither national envy nor sectional fanaticism would ever blot it out."[1]

The following letter from President Tyler of the College of William and Mary would seem to offer conclusive proof (1) that Whitman saw the President, John Tyler, (2) that he was full of his project of saving Oregon to the United States, and (3) that he was encouraged by the President.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., June 6, 1898.

DEAR SIR:

I wish I could give you full evidence on the subject of Whitman's labors for Oregon. All the evidence I have is: (1) The President's message, showing his anxiety to encourage emigration to the Oregon; (2) The statement in Barrows's history of Oregon (See "Tylers," II., p. 439); (3) The statement of Dr. Silas Reed, who saw Whitman in Washington, ("Tylers," II., p. 697); (4) The oral statement of John Tyler, Jr., the private secretary of President Tyler, who told me that he remembered Whitman very well, that he was in Washington, 1842–43, full of his project to carry emigrants to Oregon, that he waited on the President and received from him the heartiest concurrence in his plans, etc. See the 3d Annual message of the President.

[1] *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, Forty-first Congress, Third Session.

His policy was to establish a line of forts from Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia, in order to protect the emigrants along that route, and to encourage the exploration of the Rocky Mountains through Fremont, etc. At the same time he did all he could to promote the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain. To Hugh S. Legaré he wrote May 16, 1843, "we should lose no time in opening a negotiation relative to the Oregon." (See "Tylers," III., p. 111).

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Lyon G. Tyler.

Dr. William A. Mowry.

In another connection President Tyler said:

"To Mr. Tyler's sensible encouragement of Whitman, the missionary, in hastening over emigrants, and his selection of John C. Fremont to explore the Rocky Mountains, was due the success of the United States in preventing Great Britain from getting possession of Oregon and the California coast. The treaty consummated under the Polk administration, defining the Northwestern boundary, has its beginning with Mr. Tyler, though he did not remain in office long enough to effect its conclusion." [1]

[1] Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D., President of William and Mary College, son of President John Tyler.

CHAPTER XV

DR. WHITMAN IN BOSTON

HAVING accomplished what he could at Washington, Whitman now proceeded to Boston to interview the officers of the American Board in regard to the best interests of the Oregon mission. We must here keep in mind that the two objects for which Whitman made his perilous journey are quite distinct the one from the other. The rules of the Board of Missions require that, except in extraordinary circumstances, a missionary must secure permission from the home office before he is authorized to leave his work and come home. If circumstances are such as to render it impossible to wait for such permission, then he must have a written permit from his fellow missionaries. Whitman had deemed the case sufficiently pressing to require him to go east from Oregon without waiting for the permit from the home office. In that opinion Spalding and Gray agreed; Walker and Eells were slow to give their approval. They, however, acquiesced and agreed to the plan. They gave Dr. Whitman a letter to Rev. David Greene, Secretary of the Board, which included the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That if arrangements can be made to continue the operations of this station [*i. e.*, while Dr. Whitman was away], Dr. Marcus Whitman be at liberty and advised to visit the United States as soon as practicable to confer with

the Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

(Signed) " E. Walker, Moderator,
Cushing Eells, Scribe,
H. H. Spalding.

" Waiilatpu, September 28, 1842."

On the back of this letter is the following: " By Marcus Whitman, M.D. This letter, October 3, 1842."

The letter is addressed:

" Rev. David Greene,
" Sec. A. B. C. F. M.,
" Missionary House,
" Boston."

It is further endorsed: " Received 30th March, 1843."

This letter fixes the date of the meeting of the missionaries called by Dr. Whitman, as September 26, 27, 28, 1842. The letter was given the third and last day of the meeting. It also fixes March 30, 1843, as the date of his arrival in Boston.

Let us endeavor to imagine the reception which awaited Dr. Whitman when he presented himself at the mission rooms, on Pemberton Square, in Boston. It should be observed that the executive officers of this missionary society are called secretaries, and that the general policy of the work—appointment of missionaries, control of the missionaries, guiding of the work, etc.—is in the hands of the " Prudential Committee." This Prudential Committee consists of a number of ministers and prominent business men, most of whom reside in or near Boston, and for many years the committee has transacted its business at regular meetings held every Tuesday afternoon.

The secretary who had special charge of the corre-

spondence with the Oregon missionaries was Rev. David Greene. When Dr. Whitman appeared at his office, Mr. Greene must have looked at him in great astonishment. The five years of frontier life had decidedly changed his features. He was thin and gaunt from the hardships and sufferings of that long winter journey. The secretary must have been exceedingly surprised to see him there. It would be perfectly natural for him to inquire of the missionary, "Why are you here?" and very likely he chided him for absenting himself from the work without permission. Doubtless he quizzed him sharply, especially in view of the internal difficulties and dissensions which had existed among the missionaries and of which the secretary must have been painfully conscious. But Dr. Whitman was able to give satisfactory reasons for his presence and to state clearly to the secretary the condition and the needs of the mission.

It should not be forgotten that the evidence of Whitman's whole life goes to show very clearly that he was not only a man of strong purpose and great powers of fearless execution, but also a reticent man and absolutely self-contained. Whatever purpose he entertained, he went straight at it and accomplished that purpose, but his habit was the very opposite of garrulousness. Before he started on this great journey, he had said as little as possible to his brethren about bringing over an immigration and about political matters. He had good grounds for not mentioning this reason for his journey to Mr. McKinley of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to Captain Grant at Fort Hall. Now he could talk unreservedly with the secretary and the Prudential Committee of the Board concerning the wants and conditions of the mission;

Grave

Monument

THE MEMORIAL CHAPEL AT WHITMAN

but it may be that he did not mention at all his trip to Washington or his intention concerning the emigration. His business with the secretary and the committee concerned the wants of the mission. He talked with them no more concerning political affairs than he had talked with President Tyler and Secretary Webster concerning missionary affairs.

Matters relating to the business of the Board are usually talked over between the secretary and the members of the Prudential Committee, and then intelligent action is taken by the committee. Doubtless Dr. Whitman had interviews with members of the committee as well as with the secretary previous to the regular meeting of the committee. It should be remembered that nine days before Whitman presented himself at the mission house, the Prudential Committee had, as appears by the following minute, refused to change their previous action ordering radical changes in the work and the personnel of the mission.

The minutes of the Prudential Committee, March 21, 1843, read as follows:

"A joint letter from Rev. Messrs. Walker, Eells, and Spalding in behalf of the Oregon mission was laid before the Prudential Committee relating to the condition of that mission. But the committee saw no occasion to alter the decision made in respect to that mission in February, 1842." [1]

On the 4th of April, Dr. Whitman was present at the meeting of the Prudential Committee. He explained the condition of affairs at the mission and told what he thought was needed. He answered all questions, and after his withdrawal the committee ordered to be entered upon their records the following minute:

[1] From the archives of the Board.

"Statements having been made to the Committee relative to the condition and prospects of the Oregon Mission and to the action of the mission in view of the resolutions of the Committee adopted the 15th and 22d of February, 1842, relating to changes in that mission, it was, in compliance with the desire of the missionaries,

"*Resolved*, That Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. H. Spalding be authorized to continue to occupy the stations of Waiilatpu and Clearwater, as they did previous to the adoption of the resolution referred to above.

"*Resolved*, That Mr. William H. Gray and wife of the same mission be, at his request, released from further connection with the Board.

"*Resolved*, That a missionary be sent to strengthen the Oregon Mission, if a suitable person can be obtained."

The following extract is also taken from the minutes of the Prudential Committee, at the same meeting, April 4th :

". . . Dr. Whitman, recently arrived from that mission, had a brief interview with the Committee. A plan which he proposed, for taking with him, on his return to the mission, a small company of intelligent and pious laymen, to settle at or near the mission station, but without expense to the Board or any connection with it, was so far approved that he was authorized to take such men, if those of a suitable character, and with whom satisfactory arrangements could be made, can be found."

It will readily be seen from these extracts that Dr. Whitman's visit to Boston had a marked effect upon the minds of the Prudential Committee. His heart must have bounded with joy when he received a copy of these minutes. They had granted all he asked,—more than he hoped for.

1. The stations should remain as they were.

2. Mr. Spalding should be retained.

3. The committee concurred in the action of the mission in releasing Mr. Gray and his wife from connection with the Board.

4. An additional missionary, if a suitable person could be obtained, should be sent to strengthen the force.

5. The Board sanctioned Whitman's plan of carrying out with him business men "to settle at or near the mission station."

It should not be unnoticed that whatever feelings Whitman may have had toward the faults of Mr. Spalding, he now ignored them entirely, and successfully urged that his services should be continued. As already seen, the missionaries had come to a clear understanding among themselves, and Whitman with all magnanimity now stood by Spalding and besought the Board to continue him in his work. His request was granted.

These records of the Board show what great confidence the Prudential Committee had in Dr. Whitman. He had come east without their sanction. By so doing he had, in a sense, merited their disapprobation. The dissensions among several members of the mission would tend to make the committee careful in their judgment. Yet Whitman's bearing, his statement of facts and conditions, his spirit and motives, were so transparent and commendable that they did not hesitate a moment, but accepted his version of affairs and his judgment, and granted without delay all that he asked or wanted. They were evidently touched by his honesty of purpose, his broad views, and his magnanimity, and they trusted his judgment in every respect.

Wishing to know more of the condition of the Indians west of the mountains, the secretary asked Dr. Whitman, while he was in Boston, to write him a letter upon that subject. Dr. Whitman responded at once,

and on the 7th of April sent Secretary Greene the desired letter, which will be found in the appendix. This letter has never before been published, and is copied from the original document in Dr. Whitman's handwriting, now in the archives of the American Board at Boston. Its substance and its composition are surely creditable to Dr. Whitman's spirit, interest in his work, and knowledge of the Indians. That he should be able to sit down in Boston with no memoranda and no aids of any kind, and write a letter so full, so clear, and so correct, speaks well for his missionary spirit and his ability.

CHAPTER XVI

DR. WHITMAN RETURNS WEST

DR. WHITMAN now turned his course from Boston once more westward. He visited his old home in New York, sold his patrimony, and then made a flying visit to his friend Rev. Samuel Parker, in Ithaca, New York. From there he pushed forward to St. Louis.

On May 12th he wrote a letter from St. Louis to Secretary Greene of the American Board, from which the following extract is made:

"I wish to call your attention to a work of Rev. de Smet S. J. (Wilcox), *Indian Sketches*, cost one dollar. It gives a good account of their mission in Oregon. You will see by that how things are likely to affect us in that country. He has gone to Westport to fit out his reinforcement for the Oregon and then he is to return and go to Europe in order to take a ship with another reinforcement for the Oregon. I will try and give you fuller information about his movements before I leave the States. I think by a careful consideration of this book, together with these facts and movements, you will realize our feeling that we must look with much interest upon this, the only spot on the Pacific coast left, where the Protestants have a present hope of a foothold. It is requisite that more good, pious men and ministers go to Oregon without delay, as citizens, or our hope there is greatly clouded if not destroyed.

"I will try and give you further reasons on this point to urge us on to action and to give us ground of confidence.

"I hope no time will be lost in seizing every favorable

means of inducing good men to favor the interest of the Oregon.

"Hoping to be able to give you more facts to guide you,
"I remain, Dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
(Signed) "MARCUS WHITMAN."

This extract, like many others from Whitman's pen, shows his strong desire that Oregon should be saved for the United States and the Protestant religion.

The emigrants made their rendezvous at a place about twelve miles west of Independence, and just beyond the Missouri state line. They began to gather there early in the month of May. On the 18th they called a general meeting at which a committee was appointed with this purpose, as reported by George Wilkes, a member of the party:

"to return to Independence and make inquiries of Dr. Whitman, missionary, who had an establishment on the Walla Walla, respecting the practicabilities of the road, and an adjournment was made to the 20th to Elm Grove [Burnett says at the 'Big Springs'] at a little distance off, for the purpose of making final arrangements for the regular government of the expedition." [1]

Burnett says: "On the 20th I attended the meeting at the Big Springs, where I met Col. John Thornton, Col. Bartleson, Mr. Rickman, and Dr. Whitman. At this meeting rules and regulations were adopted." [2]

These rules and regulations are given in full by Wilkes. They are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE OREGON EMIGRATING SOCIETY

Resolved, Whereas we deem it necessary for the government of all societies, either civil or military, to adopt

[1] George Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, p. 67.

[2] Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, p. 101.

certain rules and regulations for their government, for the purpose of keeping good order, and promoting civil and military discipline; therefore, in order to insure union and safety, we adopt the following rules and regulations for the government of said company.

Rule 1st. Every male person of the age of sixteen or upwards shall be considered a legal voter in all the affairs regulating the company.

Rule 2d. There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all disputes arising between individuals, and to try, and pass sentence on all persons for any act of which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of sentinels and members of the guard who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or of sleeping on their posts. Such persons shall be tried and sentence passed on them at discretion of council. A majority of two thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

Rule 3d. There shall be a captain elected, who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobeying orders, shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The captain shall appoint the requisite number of duty sergeants, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the captain.

Rule 4th. There shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company, and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom—thus giving every man an equal turn of guard duty. He shall also give every member of the guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade

every guard, call the roll and inspect the time of mounting. He shall also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that they are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the captain every morning and be considered second in command.

Rule 5th. The captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council, shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one third or more of the company, to order a new election, for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member or members of the council, or for all or any of them as the case may be.

Rule 6th. The election for officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas River.

Rule 7th. No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose cattle to every male member of the age of sixteen or upwards.

Wilkes comments on these resolutions thus:

"I hardly need state that many of these remarkable regulations remained, as from their very nature they needs must, a dead letter. The convocation, however, had performed the chief business they were called to accomplish, and each man at the adjournment sought his quarters with the conviction that he had taken part in a proceeding but little short in point of dignity and grand importance to the declaration of independence itself."[1]

Dr. Whitman, on the 30th of May, wrote another letter to Secretary Greene, which will be found in full in the appendix. In this letter Dr. Whitman says:

"We do not ask you to become the patrons of emigration to Oregon, but we desire you to use your influence that in connection with all the influx into the country there may be a fair proportion of good men of our own denomination who shall avail themselves of the advantages of the country in common with others."

He further says: "You will see by his book [De

[1] Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, pp. 70, 71.

Smet's], I think, that the papal effort is designed to convey over the country to the English." Dr. Whitman also calls Mr. Greene's attention to another matter, viz.:

"the operations of Farnham of Salem and the Bensons of New York in Oregon. I am told credibly that secretly Government aids them with the secret service fund. Captain Howard of Maine is also in expectation of being employed by Government to take out emigrants by ship should the Oregon bill pass."

These extracts show how earnest Whitman was on the political and Protestant side of this great question and how thoroughly posted he was as to what was going on in connection therewith. It is almost certain that some of this information was received while he was in Washington.

At the beginning of the letter just referred to the statement is made that "the emigrants have some of them just gone and others have been gone a week, and some are yet coming on." From this and the various accounts written by different members of this great party of emigrants it would seem that from the very start they were divided into several bands.

Burnett says: "On the 22d of May, 1843, a general start was made from the rendezvous, and we reached Elm Grove, about fifteen miles distant, about 3 P.M." They had appointed John Gant as guide, and George Wilkes says that they agreed to halt "at the Kansas River for a final organization in the election of the commander and other officers." According to Burnett, they reached the Kansas River on the 26th and "finished crossing it on the 31st. At this crossing we met Fathers De Smet and De Vos, missionaries to the Flathead Indians. On the 1st of June we organized

our company by electing Peter H. Burnett as captain, J. W. Nesmith as orderly sergeant, and nine councilmen."

Apparently this was the first and foremost party, probably the largest. The other parties followed, and all were later than had been anticipated because of the lateness of the spring. They were obliged to wait until the grass should be sufficiently grown to furnish grazing for their cattle. Whitman overtook the main party at the Platte River.

Having now started this great emigration on its way to Oregon, let us consider the various causes which led to the organization of so large a company of emigrants to that far-off land of the setting sun, and inquire carefully what was Whitman's part in promoting this important emigration.

CHAPTER XVII

CAUSES OF THE EMIGRATION OF 1843

SOME writers who have told the story of Whitman's ride have, as we have seen, written as though Dr. Whitman was the sole cause of this great emigration. Their minds have dwelt upon his heroic ride, and perhaps without a critical search for other causes tending to bring about such an emigration, they have honestly and innocently taken it for granted that Whitman was the sole cause, or at least the principal cause, of organizing and carrying through the entire emigration. A careful examination of all the historical facts in this connection will show clearly that this was not the case.

On the other hand, some writers, turning their attention to collateral history and finding other causes which would tend to induce frontiersmen to emigrate to the Oregon country, have denied that Whitman had anything to do with influencing, organizing, or carrying through the great company of 1843. They claim that Whitman came east in the winter of 1842 solely on missionary business, his purpose being simply to influence the Missionary Board at Boston to leave the southern stations in Oregon as they were and not to transfer him to the northern station.

It is for us, without bias or prejudice, to search the

historical records and to determine as nearly as possible where the truth lies,—how much Whitman had to do with bringing about this migration and what other collateral causes there were to produce it. It can be clearly shown that Whitman was not the sole cause of this great westward movement. It is equally clear and absolutely sure that when Whitman came east in the fall and winter of 1842 he was largely, and we may say principally, moved to take that hazardous journey in order to influence the authorities at Washington not to give up Oregon but to hold it for our country, and in order to carry through settlers so that the Americans should outnumber the British in the Oregon country, thus insuring its American jurisdiction. We have already examined the motives which actuated Whitman in making this winter's journey across the continent. Had his purpose been confined solely to the affairs of the mission, he could have waited until spring and made the journey during the summer months; but, as he regarded it at the time, if he did anything to save Oregon to the United States, no time was to be lost.

Let it be remembered that Dr. White with a considerable party of settlers arrived near Whitman's station early in September, 1842. Among them was young Lovejoy from Boston. From him and others Dr. Whitman learned that Lord Ashburton had arrived in Washington in April previous, and that he and Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, were to make a treaty defining our northern boundaries. This news strongly excited Dr. Whitman. He feared that Webster and the Senate would care nothing for Oregon, and in confirmation of this theory, it had already been announced in some quarters that our government was

willing to trade off Oregon for the Newfoundland cod fisheries. Whitman was alarmed. All the American settlers, as has already been shown, could scarcely outvote the British. Indeed, until the emigrants who had just arrived with Dr. White reached there, the British had outnumbered the Americans.

Under these circumstances Whitman was disposed to start at once on his patriotic mission to the States. It was a hazardous undertaking. The mission was largely dependent upon the Hudson's Bay people for its supplies. It was certainly wise for Whitman to say but little about this patriotic object of his proposed journey. Still further, some of the missionaries, especially Mr. Walker, deprecated a missionary's turning aside from strictly religious work, having been greatly troubled, as we have seen, that some Methodist missionaries had left their missionary service for other business; and Mr. Walker was afraid Whitman's course would bring a similar reproach on their mission.

Whitman's journey was made. He had conferred with the authorities at Washington and visited the Board at Boston. He returned to the frontier. Probably even he was surprised to find so many people going to Oregon. Let us see what causes had been operating to induce this great company to make the trip across the Rocky Mountains.

In the first place, for several years discussions had taken place in Congress concerning the Oregon country. Senator Linn of Missouri had introduced into Congress a bill promising to give 640 acres of land to every settler in Oregon, and 160 acres to each child. This bill finally did not pass, but after its introduction it was generally supposed that it would pass. The Linn bill, in connection with various discussions

of the Oregon question in Congress, had great influence in turning the attention of frontiersmen to that distant country. Moreover, Congress had published and scattered broadcast much information concerning that territory. In 1840 the Senate had ordered Greenhow's *Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America*[1] to be printed, and directed that 2500 extra copies should be struck off for distribution by the Senate. This order passed the Senate February 10, 1840. The memoir contained 228 pages of valuable information concerning our title to Oregon and concerning the value of that country. This work was enlarged and published by Little & Brown of Boston, in 1844, entitled *The History of Oregon and California.* This volume contained 482 pages.

In the winter of 1842–43, Congress printed five thousand copies of *Extracts from the Report of Lieutenant Wilkes to the Secretary of the Navy, of the Examination of the Oregon Territory.*

The full report of Wilkes's explorations in Oregon was refused by the Secretary of the Navy to both the House and the Senate, in January, 1843, for the following reasons:

1. It contained a strong argument for 54° 40′ instead of 49°.

2. It contained information about the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to occupy the territory.

3. It made certain statements about their desire to make the Columbia River the dividing line.

4. It stated that the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company would be averse to having any war on account of their property interests in farms, flocks, and herds.

[1] Senate, Twenty-Sixth Congress, First Session, 174.

5. It contained information about the strategic value of Walla Walla.

All of this it was impolitic to print at that time; but the greater part of the report, including all that would stimulate migration to Oregon, was printed with the report of the Military Committee, and five thousand copies were ordered.

These reports printed by Congress and circulated, especially in Missouri and vicinity, must have had much influence in concentrating the attention of the pioneers on the Oregon territory; but without doubt that influence was greatly increased by the Linn bill, for extensive information concerning this country, which had been published by Congress several years before, had had very little influence upon these emigrants.

The report of Caleb Cushing from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "in relation to the territory of Oregon beyond the Rocky Mountains,"[1] was printed, and ten thousand extra copies ordered, January 4, 1839. Also a supplementary report by Mr. Cushing from the same committee upon the same subject was presented February 16th, and ten thousand extra copies ordered to be printed. These two reports showed immense research and great ability, and, together with an article by Mr. Cushing in the *North American Review* upon the same subject, are among the most valuable publications upon the Oregon question. Yet they had little influence in promoting emigration.

It is evident from a variety of sources of information that the great drawback to these would-be emigrants was that they could not carry their wagons

[1] House of Representatives, Twenty-Fifth Congress, Third Session, *Rep. No. 101.*

and families through the mountains. The great Rocky Mountain range and the Blue Mountains were supposed to be impassable for wagons. Whitman on his journey east through Texas, eastern Kansas, and the entire breadth of Missouri did much to overcome that fear.

Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii., p. 559, says:

"The policy which the United States soon after developed was one in which Great Britain could hardly compete and this was to possess the [Oregon] country by settlers as against the nominal occupancy of the fur trading company directed from Montreal. By 1832 this movement of occupation was fully in progress. By 1838 the interest was renewed in Congress, and a leading and ardent advocate of the American rights, Congressman Linn of Missouri, presented a report to the Senate and a bill for the occupation of Oregon, June 6, 1838. A report by Caleb Cushing coming from the Committee on Foreign Affairs respecting the territory of Oregon, accompanied by a map, was presented in January and February in 1839.

"It was not till 1842 that the movements of aggression began to become prominent in politics, and immigration was soon assisted by Fremont's discovery of the pass over the Rocky Mountains at the head of the La Platte.[1] . . . Calhoun in 1845 took the position that the tide of immigration was solving the difficulty and it was best to wait that issue and not force a conflict."[2]

One more point. During the winter of 1842–43 a great debate on the Oregon question took place in the Senate, which lasted a number of weeks and brought

[1] It is evidently a mistake to speak of Fremont's "discovery" of the South Pass. It had been "discovered" long before.

[2] No settlement of the question having been effected by Webster in the treaty of 1842, he had been hastily accused of a willingness to trade off Oregon for the fisheries. Barrows (p. 231) vindicated him. His position is seen in his *Works*, ii., p. 322; v., pp. 60, 63, 70, 294; private correspondence, i., pp. 215, 230; Curtis's *Webster*, ii., pp. 173, 257; Lodge's *Webster*, p. 265.

out a great diversity of views concerning the Oregon question.

All these things had a strong tendency toward turning the attention of many Western people to the Oregon country. If they could only take their wagons through to the Columbia they would be inclined to make the overland journey. Just here Whitman was in a position to give them the needed assurance. He had taken his own wagon through the mountains and as far as Fort Boisé six years before. It is evident that on his way east Whitman had occasion many times to tell this fact, that he had carried his wagon through the mountains and that he could pilot them, wagons and all, through to the Columbia.

It will be noticed that George Wilkes, in his account of this expedition, tells us that a meeting of the emigrants was held May 18th and that a committee was appointed "to return to Independence and make inquiries of Dr. Whitman, missionary, who had an establishment on the Walla Walla, *respecting the practicabilities of the road.*" It would not be a great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the appointment of this committee to wait upon Dr. Whitman was brought about by statements made by some of the emigrants concerning what Whitman had told them. This committee would then officially interrogate Whitman, and doubtless they received from him information which assured the entire party that they could carry their wagons through to the Columbia.

Let us now examine the evidences at hand to show what part properly belongs to Whitman in drawing together, organizing, and carrying safely through this great company of families for the Oregon country.

Dr. Geiger was left by Whitman in charge of his

station while he made the trip east. After his return the two had long conversations in regard to the journey and its results. Dr. Geiger afterwards stated that "he [Dr. Whitman, when at Washington] immediately sent back word to Missouri to those who wished to go and had it published in papers and in a pamphlet."

Dr. S. J. Parker, son of Rev. Samuel Parker, in speaking of Whitman's two visits to his father, the one before he went to Washington and the other after his return from Boston in 1843, said: "At both times the subject of emigration was talked of. Dr. Whitman said many in Illinois and Missouri, etc., were ready to go and would go in the spring as soon as the grass grew."

Mr. S. M. Gilmore, one of the emigrants, said:

"After I had resolved to come to Oregon I learned that Dr. Whitman was intending to return to Oregon — would be of great assistance to the emigrants. As to how many he influenced I know not, but I am sure he caused many to come that otherwise would not have come, if they had not learned that he would be with them, and that he would be of great assistance on the journey. I first saw Dr. Whitman at our rendezvous on the Missouri border, while we were organizing preparatory to start."

Mr. John B. McClane said: "There were a number that were influenced by him to come, but I could not state their names at this time." Mr. William Waldo, another of the emigrants, testifies:

"I have to say that Dr. Whitman was in some of the Eastern states in the winter of 1842 and 1843, and *wrote several newspaper articles in relation to Oregon*, and particularly in regard to the health of the country. These letters decided my father to move to this country, as he had already determined to leave Missouri. . . . I first saw him on the Big Blue River. . . . I was then about ten

years of age, but I remember him very distinctly, for the reason that he was a very remarkable man in many respects."

Mrs. C. B. Cary reports: "It was a pamphlet Dr. Whitman wrote that induced me to come to Oregon. Met him first on the plains."

Mr. John Zachrey writes:

"My father and his family emigrated to Oregon in 1843, from the state of Texas. I was then seventeen years old. The occasion of my father's starting that season for this country, as also several of our neighbors, was a *publication by Dr. Whitman*, or from his representations, concerning Oregon and the route from the States to Oregon. In the pamphlet the Doctor described Oregon, the soil, climate and its desirableness for American colonies, and said he had crossed the Rocky Mountains that winter, *principally to take back that season a train of wagons to Oregon.* We had been told that wagons could not be taken beyond Fort Hall; but *in this pamphlet the Doctor assured his countrymen that wagons could be taken* from Fort Hall to the Columbia River, and to The Dalles, and from thence by boats to the Willamette; that himself and mission party had taken their families, cattle, and wagons through to the Columbia six years before. It was this assurance of the missionary that induced my father and several of his neighbors to sell out and start at once for this country. . . ."

(Signed) "JOHN ZACHREY."

Hon. John Hobson writes:

"My father's family came to St. Louis in March, 1843, from England, on our way to Wisconsin, but on account of snow and ice in the river we could not proceed, and while detained there we met the Doctor [Whitman] and several others, who were talking of coming to Oregon; so, by his description of the country, and proffered assistance in getting here free of charge, my father with family, and Miles Eyers and family, Messrs. Thomas Smith, a Mr. Ricord, and J. M. Shively, all agreed to come. All came. Mr. Eyers was drowned in Snake River, while crossing above Boisé. Thomas Smith went to California in 1847. Mr.

Ricord went to the Sandwich Islands and never returned. J. M. Shively resides in Astoria, when at home, but is now in California for his health.

"The Doctor assisted Eyers and father in purchasing wagons and mules in St. Louis. We went to Westport, through the state of Missouri, to the rendezvous, and the rest went by river. I do not know whether the Doctor was going to or on the return from Washington, but we did not see him any more until we met him at the Indian mission, a few miles from Westport, in the early part of May, where he assisted us in getting more teams and horses."

Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, of the Methodist mission at The Dalles, wrote in 1849, as follows:

"He [Whitman] looked upon them [the Indians] as doomed, at no distant day, to give place to a settlement of enterprising Americans. With an eye to this, he laid his plans and acted. His American feelings, even while engaged in his missionary toils, were . . . suffered to predominate. . . . He wanted to see the country settled. . . . Where were scattered a few Indian huts he wanted to see thrifty farm houses. Where stalked abroad a few broken-down Indian horses, cropping the rich grasses of the surrounding plain, he wanted to see grazing the cow, the ox, and the sheep of a happy Yankee community. With his eye bent on this, he was willing, meantime, to do what he could . . . for the poor, weak, feeble, doomed Oregonians."

Dr. Whitman, on May 28, 1843, wrote a letter from St. Louis to his brother-in-law, Mr. J. G. Prentiss, in which he said:

"You will be surprised to learn that I am here yet. I have been, as it were, waiting for three weeks. When I got to St. Louis I found I had time and so I went to Quincy, Ill., and saw sister Jane, but Edward was not there. . . . I shall start to-morrow or the next day. Some of the emigrants have been gone a week and others are just going. The number of men will be over two hundred, besides women and children. This tells for the

occupation of Oregon. A great many cattle are going, but no sheep, from a mistake of what I said when passing. Next year will tell for sheep. . . . You will be best judge what can be done, and how far you can exert yourself in these matters, and whether the secret service fund can be obtained. As now decided in my mind, this Oregon will be occupied by American citizens. Those who go only open the way for more another year. Wagons will go all the way, I have no doubt, this year. . . . Sheep and cattle, but especially sheep, are indispensable for Oregon. . . .

"I mean to impress on the Secretary of War that sheep are more important to Oregon interests than soldiers. We want to get sheep and stock from the Government for Indians, instead of money for their lands. I have written him on the main interests of the Indian country, but I mean still to write him a private letter touching some particular interests. I shall not be at all surprised to see some, if not all, of you on our side of the mountains. Jackson talked favorably."

This letter shows that Dr. Whitman on his way west first came to St. Louis, then went back to Illinois, and there waited some time for the emigrants; that he returned to the frontier, and that the emigrants started along at different times; that he was trying to induce his friends to emigrate to Oregon; that he had said something about emigrants going there when he first passed through, as he was misunderstood about sheep; and that he was in communication with the government, especially the Secretary of War, about Oregon. More of the letter is taken up with the subject of sheep.

Mr. Prentiss afterwards wrote as follows:

"If I could see and talk to you of what the Doctor said to me on the subject of his trip, and how anxious he was to continue his journey and get all to go with him he came in contact with in this town, and eight miles from here, at West Almond, where I then lived, and on his way to Cuba,

where my father and mother lived at that time, it would explain much that he wrote me about.

"His project was, so far as the Indians were concerned, to induce the Government to pay them off for their land in sheep, and leave them to be a herding people. Hence he wrote in his letter to me about a secret fund that was controlled by the Cabinet, etc., and in his urgent solicitations was so anxious to have Mr. Jackson, a brother-in-law, and myself to go. He would have it my aged parents, Judge Prentiss and wife, might endure the journey, and his solicitations outside of the family were just as urgent, portraying the beauties of that country to all that would listen to his story. . . ."

The *Annual Report of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 1884, p. 213, shows how that body understood the matter, in these words: "The large company who crossed the mountains last year succeeded, under the guidance of Dr. Whitman, in finding a route by which they were able to proceed the whole distance with their wagons, thus greatly diminishing the hardships of the journey."

October 18, 1847, Dr. Whitman wrote to Secretary Greene a letter which will be found in the appendix. In this letter he said:

"Two things were accomplished by my return to the United States. By the establishment of the wagon-road, due to that effort alone, the immigration was saved from disaster in 1843. Upon that event the present rights of the United States acquired by her citizens hung, and not less certainly upon the result of immigration to this country the existence of this mission and of Protestantism in general hung also."

In another letter to Mr. Greene is the following:

"It was to open a practical [practicable] route and safe passage, and secure a favorable report of the journey from emigrants, which, in connection with other objects, caused me to leave my family and brave the toils and dangers of the journey, notwithstanding the unusual severity of the winter and the great depth of snow."

Then he mentions the "saving the mission from being broken up," as "another" object of his going.

Immediately on his arrival in Oregon, November 1, 1843, he wrote as follows:

"Great inconvenience and expense have been incurred by my absence, yet I do not regret having visited the States, for I feel that this country must either be American or foreign and mostly papal. If I never do more than to have established the first wagon-road to the Columbia River, and prevented the disaster and reaction which would have followed the breaking up of the present emigration, I am satisfied. I cannot see foreign and papal influence making great efforts and we hold ourselves as expatriated. I am determined to exert myself for my country."

The following extract is from a letter to the Secretary of War, written by Dr. Whitman the year after the great emigration. The entire letter will be found in the appendix. He says:

"The government will now doubtless for the first time be apprised through you, by means of this communication, of the immense migration of families to Oregon which has taken place this year. I have, since our interview, been instrumental in piloting across the route described in the accompanying bill, and which is the only eligible wagon-road, no less than three hundred families, consisting of one thousand persons of both sexes, with their wagons, amounting in all to more than one hundred and twenty, six hundred and ninety-four oxen, and seven hundred and seventy-three loose cattle."

An extract from a letter written to Rev. L. P. Judson by Dr. Whitman, dated November 5, 1846, reads thus:

"I had adopted Oregon as my country, as well as the Indians for my field of labor, so that I must superintend the immigration of that year, which was to lay the foundation of the speedy settlement of the country if prosperously conducted and safely carried through; but if it failed and

became disastrous, the reflex influence would be to discourage for a long time any further attempt to settle the country across the mountains, which would be to see it abandoned altogether. I have returned to my field of labor, and in my return brought a large immigration of about one thousand individuals safely through the long, and the last part of it an untried, route to the western shores of the continent. Now that they were once safely conducted through, three successive immigrations have followed after them, and two routes for wagons are now open into the Willamette Valley."

Much more testimony of like importance could be given if necessary, showing how much Whitman had to do in promoting this emigration.

Of course, with such a large company divided into several bands, Whitman would not be known to them all. John Gant was their pilot from Missouri to Fort Hall. It has been said that the company wanted Dr. Whitman for a guide, but he thought he could be more useful otherwise. Of this we cannot be sure, but it is not at all an unreasonable supposition. From Fort Hall Whitman was the pilot for the entire company. After reaching the Grande Ronde, having received information of the severe illness of Mr. Spalding and his wife, he hurried on to their station, leaving one of his converted and civilized Indians, Istikas by name, a most competent man, to pilot the company the rest of the way to his station. This the Indian did to the satisfaction of all. Dr. Whitman found Mr. and Mrs. Spalding somewhat better, in a fair way to recovery, and as soon as possible he hastened to his station to have his gristmill put in order by the time the company reached his mission.

CHAPTER XVIII

EIGHT HUNDRED FOR OREGON

NOW let us follow this body of emigrants upon their journey. The company numbered altogether something over eight hundred, including women and children. They had about two hundred wagons and some fifteen hundred head of cattle. Their route lay nearly due west for about five hundred miles through the present states of Kansas and Nebraska; then near the northeast corner of Colorado they changed their course to the northwest until they had crossed the North Fork of the Platte River; thence along the Sweetwater River, through the South Pass, and across to Fort Hall by way of Fort Bridger. This was the general line of their march.

We learn from Burnett, who kept a brief journal of the trip, that his division made fifteen miles to Elm Grove the first day, halting at the end of the day's march, at 3 o'clock P.M. On the 24th they reached the Walcalusia River, where, he says, "we let our wagons down the steep banks by ropes." They reached the Kansas River on the 26th, and finished crossing it five days later.

Thence they traveled by the Blue River, a branch of the Kansas, until the 17th of June. On the 18th of June they crossed from the Blue to the Platte River,

twenty-five or thirty miles, a very long day's travel. After entering the valley of the Platte, they wended their way up the banks of that river many days. At the point where they first saw it, the river was from a mile to a mile and a half wide, and its valley was about twenty miles wide. They ascended this river perhaps a hundred miles without seeing a single tributary flowing into it.

On the 29th of June they arrived at a grove of timber on the south bank of the South Fork of the Platte, along which they were journeying,—the first timber they had seen since they reached the Platte. They now prepared to cross this great river. Boats were constructed by tacking upon the outside of their huge emigrant wagons green buffalo hides, sewed together with the flesh side out. When the hides were thoroughly dried in the sun, they proceeded to ferry over their effects by means of these boats. They were four days in crossing.

They had now traveled nearly four hundred miles in about forty days. In the earlier part of the journey they had averaged only about ten miles a day, but during the last eleven days they had made fifteen miles a day. From July 5th to the 7th they crossed from the South Fork to the North Fork, a distance of about thirty miles. On the 14th of July they arrived at Fort Laramie on the North Fork, in what is now the state of Wyoming, where they remained two days repairing their wagons. Here Whitman met his traveling companion of the previous winter, Mr. Lovejoy, who had leisurely found his way across the country from Bent's Fort, where Whitman left him six months before. From Burnett's diary we learn the price of supplies at this distant halting-place: coffee, $1.50 a

pint; brown sugar, the same price; flour, unbolted, 25 cents a pound; powder, $1.50 a pound; lead, 75 cents a pound; percussion caps, $1.50 a box; calico, an inferior article, $1.50 a yard.

On July 24th they crossed the North Fork by fording. The great difficulty in crossing at this ford was not the depth of water, but the quicksands that formed the bottom of the river. When Dr. Whitman came up and found the drivers unable and unwilling to cross, he ordered a strong team to the front, and placing all the teams in a line, had each one chained to the one in front. He then ordered the drivers to get ready to start at the signal and to whip up their teams and in every way urge them forward, in order to cross all together and as rapidly as possible; otherwise they would be mired irrecoverably in the quicksand. All was ready; Dr. Whitman gave the signal and they started upon the double quick. Amid a confused din of rather startlingly loud lingo from the drivers, the wagons were rapidly pulled across the broad river, over the quicksands, and all came safely upon the opposite bank in good order.

Dr. Atkinson gives the following graphic account of this occurrence:

"Those who heard Dr. Whitman at the North Platte River bid the emigrants throw away their skin boats prepared for crossing, and saw him for three days crossing and re-crossing that wide stream, swimming his horse to find the best ford, and at last heard him order the teams and wagons to be chained together and driven in one long line across the ford for two miles (that river swollen by spring floods), cheering the drivers, permitting not a moment's halt, lest they should sink in the quicksands, will never forget the man and the deed." [1]

[1] *Fifth Annual Report of the Oregon Historical and Pioneer Society*, 1876, p. 10.

The distance from Fort Laramie to this ford of the North Fork was 122 miles, and it was accomplished in nine days.

They then crossed over to the Sweetwater River, a distance of fifty-five miles, in three days, arriving there on the 27th. They first came in sight of the Rocky Mountains on the 3d of August. On the 5th, 6th, and 7th of August they went through the pass, and on the evening of the 7th drank of the waters that flowed into the Pacific. On the 9th they came to the Big Sandy, and on the 11th they crossed the Green River, a branch of the great Colorado.

To revert to Burnett's account:

"We were informed that Dr. Whitman had written a letter stating that the Catholic missionaries had discovered, by the aid of their Flathead Indian pilot, a pass through the mountains by way of Fort Bridger, which was shorter than the old route. We therefore determined to go by the Fort, where we arrived on the 14th. This is situated on the Black Fork of Green River, having traveled from our first camp on the Sweet Water, two hundred and nineteen miles, in eighteen days." [1]

They waded the great Soda Springs on the Bear River, August 22d, and then crossed over to Fort Hall, arriving there on the 27th, having traveled 235 miles from Fort Bridger, in thirteen days, an average of eighteen miles a day. Burnett speaks of Captain John Gant as acting pilot from the Missouri to Fort Hall, at which place he left them; and says that Dr. Whitman was pilot from there to the Grande Ronde, where his place was taken by one of his personal Indian friends, named Stikas,[2] who was an excellent guide.

When the great company reached Fort Hall, they

[1] *Recollections*, p. 115.

[2] Dr. Eells told the writer that his true name was Istikas.

were told that it was idle to attempt to take wagons through to the Columbia. At that moment Dr. Whitman was absent from the company, and on his return he found them in great straits. They were in the depths of the great and terrible wilderness, and were like a ship in mid-ocean without a rudder. Just then Whitman rode up on horseback and inquired what was the matter. On being informed, he reassured them by his bold and manly words, saying: "My countrymen, you have trusted me thus far. Believe me now and I will take your wagons to the Columbia River"; and he did so. At this point in the journey Burnett wrote as follows:

"Fort Hall was then a trading post, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and was under the charge of Mr. Grant, who was exceedingly kind and hospitable. The fort was situated on the south bank of Snake River, in a wide, fertile valley, covered with luxuriant grass, and watered by numerous springs and small streams. This valley had once been a great resort for buffaloes, and their skulls were scattered around in every direction. We saw the skulls of these animals for the last time at Fort Boisé, beyond which point they were never seen. The Company had bands of horses and herds of cattle grazing on these rich bottom-lands.

"Up to this point the route over which we had passed was perhaps the finest natural road, of the same length, to be found in the world. Only a few loaded wagons had ever made their way to Fort Hall, and were there abandoned. Dr. Whitman in 1836 had taken a wagon as far as Fort Boisé, by making a cart on two of the wheels and placing the axle-tree and the other two wheels in his cart.

"Here we parted with our respected pilot, Captain John Gant. Dr. Marcus Whitman was with us at the fort, and was our pilot from there to the Grande Ronde, where he left us in charge of an Indian pilot, whose name was Stikas, and who proved to be both faithful and competent. The Doctor left us to have his gristmill put in order by the time we should reach his mission.

"We had now arrived at a most critical period in our most adventurous journey; and we had many misgivings as to our ultimate success in making our way with our wagons, teams, and families. We had yet to accomplish the untried and most difficult portion of our long and exhaustive journey. We could not anticipate at what moment we might be compelled to abandon our wagons in the mountains, pack our scant supplies upon our poor oxen, and make our way on foot through this terribly rough country, as best we could. We fully comprehended the situation; but we never faltered in our inflexible determination to accomplish the trip, if within the limits of possibility, with the resources at our command. Dr. Whitman assured us that we could succeed, and encouraged and aided us with every means in his power. I consulted Mr. Grant as to his opinion of the practicability of taking our wagons through. He replied that, while he would not say it was impossible for us Americans to make the trip with our wagons, he could not himself see how it could be done. He had only traveled the pack-trail, and certainly no wagons could follow that route; but there might be a practical road found by leaving the trail at certain points." [1]

The company left Fort Hall on the 30th of August, having been more than three months on their way, and having accomplished but little more than half the distance and certainly not half the difficulties. But by this time the entire company had become sufficiently acquainted with Dr. Whitman to appreciate his ability and his devotion as their guide. They had full confidence in him, and they started off with buoyant hearts and determined wills.

From Fort Hall their route lay for several hundred miles down the Snake River, or Lewis River, as it is sometimes called. Their way was extremely difficult. From Fort Hall past the Grande Ronde and over the Blue Mountains was by far the most difficult part of the whole journey. The road was new and untried,

[1] *Recollections*, pp. 116, 117.

very rocky, and often obstructed by a thick growth of sage two or three feet high, which seriously impeded the progress of their wagons, which they had persisted in taking with them in spite of the statements made by Captain Grant of Fort Hall. Up to this time no emigrant wagons had gone beyond Fort Hall, except the single cart of Dr. Whitman's, which he had taken in 1836 to Fort Boisé.

They reached Salmon Falls on the 7th of September, and three days later forded the river.[1] On the 14th they passed the Boiling Springs, where the water was hot enough to boil an egg. Reaching Fort Boisé on the 20th, they had made the distance from Fort Hall, 273 miles, in twenty-one days.

The valley of Burnt River, which they forded between the 24th and 27th, they found exceedingly difficult, as it was narrow and full of timber; but about the 29th and 30th (September) they passed through rich and fertile valleys of great beauty, lying between snowclad mountains whose sides were covered with noble pine forests. October 1st found them passing through the Grande Ronde, which they called "one of the most beautiful valleys in the world, embosomed among the Blue Mountains which are covered with magnificent pines."

Who can form any adequate conception of the journey of this wearied party of emigrants, now in the fifth month of their wanderings, as on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of October, they passed through the Blue Mountains, near the northeast corner of the present state of Oregon, encountering a severe snowstorm,

[1] Burnett relates that, as his party were crossing, they "killed a salmon weighing twenty-three pounds, one of our wagons running over it as it lay on the bottom of the pebbly stream." (p. 121.)

losing their cattle in the forests, and finding the road terribly rough, indeed, almost impassable! With what feelings of rejoicing, then, did they on the 10th of October come up to Whitman's mission station, and go into camp for a few days, where they regaled themselves with Indian corn, peas, and Irish potatoes in abundance! "We had been so long time without fresh vegetables," writes one of the number, "that we were almost famished, and consequently feasted exceedingly."

Dr. Whitman found his gristmill had been burned by the Indians during his absence. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., dated April 1, 1843, Dr. Elijah White, sub-agent of Indian Affairs west of the Rocky Mountains, speaks as follows concerning the burning of the Doctor's mill:

"After a severe journey of four days we reached Waiilatpu, Dr. Whitman's station, where we had many most unpleasant matters to settle. Feather Cap commenced weeping. Tauatwai said the whites were much more to blame than the Indians; that three fourths of them, though they taught the purest doctrines, practised the greatest abominations, referring to the base conduct of many in the Rocky Mountains; acknowledged it as his opinion that the mill was burnt purposely by some persons disaffected towards Dr. Whitman."[1]

Dr. Whitman soon repaired his mill so that grinding could be done in it, and when the emigrants arrived at his station he was prepared to sell them flour, potatoes, and other provisions at moderate prices. Here the emigrants rested and prepared for their onward journey. Dr. Whitman gave them all the assistance that was in his power, and opened for them a new route down the river. But the autumn was coming

[1] *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, p. 13, Forty-first Congress, Third Session.

on apace and they must not linger too long by the way.

They had not yet reached their destination. Two days brought them to Fort Walla Walla, 202 miles from Fort Boisé, in twenty-four days, making a total of 1691 miles in 147 days, averaging eleven and a half miles a day. Dr. Whitman furnished a guide for the party from his station to The Dalles. A large majority took with them to The Dalles their cattle and wagons, although some of them left theirs at Fort Walla Walla. From The Dalles they descended to Fort Vancouver by boats and canoes.

The principal part of this great emigration settled in the valley of the Willamette, south of the Columbia, between the Coast Range and the Cascade Mountains.

Fort Vancouver, situated a little above the mouth of the Willamette, was reached on the 7th of November, and November 22d probably overtook them before all that party were well settled in their homes. It was six months since they had left the rendezvous upon the borders of civilization, near the western boundary of Missouri, and they had traveled over two thousand miles.

How very inadequate is our conception of such a journey! How little can we, at this distance of time and space, form any just appreciation of the endurance shown, of the hardships, anxieties, and perils those pioneers experienced in that remarkable undertaking! And what must, in justice, be said of their leader? — the man who planned and executed such an enterprise as to cross the country in winter, warn his government of the danger, win from them an almost unwilling promise of protection, incite the interest of the hardy pioneers, gather them together and safely pilot them

over the unexplored wilds and through the fastnesses of two great ranges of mountains. All honor to the noble, philanthropic, and patriotic old hero! Let not his name perish or be forgotten from the annals of our most important history.

CHAPTER XIX

ATTEMPTS AT GOVERNMENT

WHILE Dr. Whitman was gone, in 1843, the commencement of a provisional government was undertaken; on July 5th the first executive committee was elected and a body of laws was adopted. This was a beginning. Already Dr. Whitman and his emigrants were half-way to Oregon, and when they arrived the Americans would be in the majority. Nothing was done by this new government till Whitman arrived. A second executive committee was chosen in 1844, and Mr. George Abernethy was elected governor. At the time of his election he was absent from the country, and he did not assume the duties of the office until the 2d of December, 1845. He served for nearly four years, or till the territorial government went into effect in 1849.

After the arrival of this large and respectable delegation, which included many men who took first rank in the management of subsequent affairs in the territory and state of Oregon, the American party had a clear majority, and from that time the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was decidedly changed. The courtesy and urbanity which had hitherto characterized its officers were evidently not approved by the home management, and in place of this there sprang

up a studied reticence and gradual withdrawal from all participation in whatever might redound to the welfare of the American cause. The alienation finally became complete, and resulted in their entire withdrawal from the Oregon country. This, however, was not effected till long after the final settlement between this country and Great Britain of all questions concerning Oregon, and after our supremacy had been fully established from lat. 42° to 49°. Let us, then, examine some of the evidences of this change of policy on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company.

While Dr. John McLoughlin was in command at Fort Vancouver, he was criticised by those above him for furnishing supplies to the American settlers on credit. Of his attitude Gray says:

"The emigrants arrived poor and needy; and they must have suffered had he not furnished them supplies on credit. He could have wished that this had not been necessary, because he believed that there were those above him who strongly disapproved of his course in this respect, affirming that it would lead to the permanent settlement of the country by American citizens, and thus give to the United States government an element of title to the country. The United States government could not have a title to the country without such settlement, and those persons, thus alluded to as being dissatisfied, would report him to the Hudson's Bay Company's house at London." [1]

Dr. McLoughlin at length learned that such complaints had been made, but he still continued to furnish supplies on credit to Americans as well as others, because on the principle of common humanity he could not do otherwise. Finally, when he was ordered to change his course, he indignantly replied: "Gentle-

[1] Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 319; see also Eva Emery Dye, *McLoughlin and Old Oregon*.

men, if such is your order, I will serve you no longer." In 1846, therefore, but a little while before matters had become ripe for the butchery of the American missionaries, Dr. McLoughlin resigned his connection with the Company, and from that time till his death Oregon had in him a warm and faithful friend. When he left the Hudson's Bay Company, he had been in their employ forty years.[1]

On the 15th of June, 1846, a treaty was concluded at Washington between James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States, and the Right Honorable Richard Pakenham, a member of her Majesty's Privy Council and her Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States. It was ratified July 17, 1846, and proclaimed August 5th of that year. It declared that "the line of latitude of 49° is continued as the boundary between the United States and the British Possessions in America from the Rocky Mountains westward to the middle

[1] Rev. Dr. Atkinson, in the annual address before the Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon, in Astoria, February 22, 1876, used the following language:

"When the wearied colonists were slowly arriving by boats in the Willamette Valley, hungry and sick, with torn garments and almost penniless, their appeals to Dr. John McLoughlin, superintendent and chief factor of the honorable Hudson's Bay Company, for flour, groceries, and clothing, met a generous response. He ordered the clerks to sell them what they needed and let none suffer, granting credit if necessary. For this act, having been blamed and required to assume the debts of the settlers, he nobly said: 'When any persons come to my door starving and naked I will feed and clothe them. I have done my utmost duty to the Company, but when you require me to sacrifice my duty to my fellow man and to God, I can serve you no longer.' He resigned his office and thenceforward identified himself with the American citizens. His noble face and princely form and most generous deeds entitled him to rank among the noblest benefactors, inscribing on his banner, 'humanity the highest patriotism.'"

of the channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." [1]

Henry Cabot Lodge thus discusses this treaty:

"The Ashburton treaty was open to one just criticism. It did not go far enough. It did not settle the northwestern as it did the northeastern boundary. Mr. Webster, as has been said, made an effort to deal with the former as well as the latter, but he met with no encouragement, and as he was then preparing to retire from office, the matter dropped. In regard to the northwestern boundary Mr. Webster agreed with the opinion of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, that the forty-ninth parallel was a fair and proper line; but the British undertook to claim the line of the Columbia River, and this excited corresponding claims on our side. The Democracy for political purposes became especially warlike and patriotic. They declared in their platform that we must have the whole of Oregon and reoccupy it at once. Mr. Polk embodied this view in his message, together with the assertion that our rights extended to the line of 54 deg. 40 min. north, and a shout of "fifty-four-forty or fight" went through the land from the enthusiastic Democracy. If this attitude meant anything it meant war, inasmuch as our proposal for the forty-ninth parallel and the free navigation of the Columbia River, made in the autumn of 1845, had been rejected by England, and then withdrawn by us. Under these circumstances Mr. Webster felt it his duty to come forward and exert all his influence to maintain peace, and to promote a clear comprehension, both in the United States and in Europe, of the points at issue. His speech on this subject and with this aim was delivered in Faneuil Hall. He spoke of the necessity of peace, of the fair adjustment offered by an acceptance of the forty-ninth parallel, and derided the idea of casting two great nations into war for such a question as this. He closed with a forcible and solemn denunciation of the president or minister who should dare to take the responsibility for kindling the flames of war on such a pretext. The speech was widely read. It was translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and on the continent had a great effect. About a month later he wrote to Mr. Mac-

[1] Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II., p. 1484.

Gregor of Glasgow, suggesting that the British government should offer to accept the forty-ninth parallel, and his letter was shown to Lord Aberdeen, who at once acted upon the advice it contained. While this letter, however, was on its way, certain resolutions were introduced in the Senate relating to the national defences, and to give notice of the termination of the convention for the joint occupation of Oregon, which would of course have been nearly equivalent to a declaration of war. Mr. Webster opposed the resolutions, and insisted that, while the Executive, as he believed, had no real wish for war, this talk was kept up about 'all or none,' which left nothing to negotiate about. The notice finally passed, but before it could be delivered by our minister in London, Lord Aberdeen's proposition of the forty-ninth parallel, as suggested by Mr. Webster, had been received at Washington, where it was accepted by the truculent administration, agreed to by the Senate, and finally embodied in a treaty." [1]

Congress passed an act, which was approved August 14, 1848, to establish a territorial government for Oregon, under which General Joseph Lane was appointed governor. He went to Oregon, and by proclamation put the territorial government into operation March 3, 1849.

The citizens of Oregon, by a convention chosen under a territorial act (no "enabling act" having been passed by Congress),—which convention assembled at Salem, August 17, 1857, and completed its labors September 18, 1857,—framed a constitution which was submitted to the people, November 9, 1857. It was ratified by 7195 votes against 3195 votes. In accordance with this constitution an election was held "on the first Monday in June, 1858, for the election of members of the legislative Assembly, a representative in Congress, and state and county officers. The legislative Assembly convened at the Capitol the first

[1] Henry Cabot Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 264–266.

Monday in July, 1858, elected two senators in Congress and made further provisions to complete the organization of a state government." [1] Congress the next year passed an act (Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1859) "for the admission of the state of Oregon" into the Union.

[1] *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II., pp. 1492, 1507.

CHAPTER XX

THE MASSACRE

AND now we have a dark and sorrowful chapter to add to this history. The eight days from November 29 to December 6, 1847, were bloody days at Waiilatpu.

The Indians had become greatly disturbed long before the massacre took place. Dr. Whitman had observed carefully the contest which was going on between the Hudson's Bay people and the Americans, and he was not unmindful of the hostile influence of a few leading Jesuit priests. Their influence upon the Indians was never conducive to friendship and confidence towards the Americans. While Dr. Whitman was on his journey east, the word went round among the Indians that he was to return with emigrants who would take all their lands from them.

On reaching his home, Dr. Whitman found, as we have seen, that his flour mill with a quantity of grain had been burned by the disaffected Indians. This disaffection increased. From year to year it became more apparent and more widespread. The Indians reported that Dr. Whitman was poisoning them. The wildest and most incredible stories were circulated concerning him. We must not forget the superstitious nature of the Indians, and that at this time they were suffering from contagious diseases, such as measles

and dysentery. In the fall of 1847, Dr. Whitman was thoroughly convinced that a plot for the murder of the missionaries was nearly complete. Day after day he reported appearances to his wife and friends, and walked softly and prayerfully, knowing that he might be called at any moment to yield up his life.

When visiting the sick in the Indian camp on the Umatilla River, he called on Bishop Blanchette and the vicar-general Brouillett, who had just arrived at the place, and had an interview with them. He then rode out to where Rev. Mr. Spalding was encamped, reaching there about sunset. This last interview with his brother missionary was short, for, though he was worn down with increasing labors and cares, severe sickness at his own home would not suffer him to stop for the night's rest. It was late when he left his friends and started upon his lone night journey to that once happy home. The long ride of forty miles consumed the remainder of the night, and in the early dawn he alighted at his own house. A hurried interview with his beloved wife, at which they were seen in tears, greatly agitated, was cut short by calls for him to see the sick. Immediately after dinner, perhaps about half-past one, the carnage was begun and continued for eight days.

The massacre was wholly unprovoked by Dr. Whitman, or any member of the mission. On the other hand, the atrocity was deepened by the fact that at the time of its occurrence the martyrs were devoting their energies to the relief of those who were suffering from an epidemic disease of unusual severity then prevailing among the Indians.[1]

[1] See the resolutions adopted by the Oregon Presbytery of the Old School Presbyterian Church, June 26, 1869.

There were at that time at Dr. Whitman's station seventy-two souls, many of whom were American emigrants from the States. Fourteen persons, including Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, were killed; nearly all the rest were taken prisoners by the Indians, and the women were subjected to the most horrible brutalities. All the prisoners were, however, subsequently ransomed and released. The pen refuses to portray the details of this dreadful crime. Suffice it to say that these Christian martyrs died like heroes. One of them, after hours of terrible suffering from wounds inflicted the day previous, was heard by a sick person concealed beneath the floor to say faintly, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly"; and soon after he ceased to breathe. Dr. Whitman himself was the first one to fall, a tomahawk being twice plunged into his head and his face hacked in the most brutal manner.

Thus died this Christian hero, who has been well described in these words:

"Emphatically a patriot without guile, a Christian whose faith was measured by his works; who counted not his life dear unto him if he might but do good to his fellow-beings, white or red; whose forethought, whose hazards, labors, and sufferings, self-devised, unsolicited, unrewarded, to reach Washington through the snows of New Mexico, did more for Oregon and this coast than the labors of any other man. Already are fulfilled your remarkable words, on the banks of the Umatilla, on that our last night: 'My death may do as much good to Oregon as my life can.'"[1]

The seventy-two persons connected with Dr. Whitman's mission before the massacre were located as follows:

At the sawmill,[2] twelve persons:—Mr. and Mrs.

[1] Rev. Mr. Spalding, in *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, p. 31.

[2] Mr. Gray says the sawmill was on the creek, ten miles above Walla Walla and sixteen miles from the mission.

Young and three grown-up sons, from Missouri; Mr. and Mrs. Smith and five children (eldest daughter sixteen years of age), from Indiana.

At the blacksmith's shop, seven persons:—Mr. and Mrs. Canfield and five children (eldest daughter sixteen years of age), from Indiana.

In the large building, twenty-six persons:—Mr. and Mrs. Kimball and five children (eldest daughter sixteen years of age), from Indiana; Mr. and Mrs. Hall and five children (eldest daughter ten years), from Illinois; Mr. and Mrs. Saunders and five children (eldest, a daughter fourteen years of age), from Iowa; Mrs. Hayes and child; Mr. Marsh and daughter; Mr. Gillam (a tailor).

In the Indian room, five persons:—Mr. and Mrs. Osborn and three children, from Illinois (all sick).

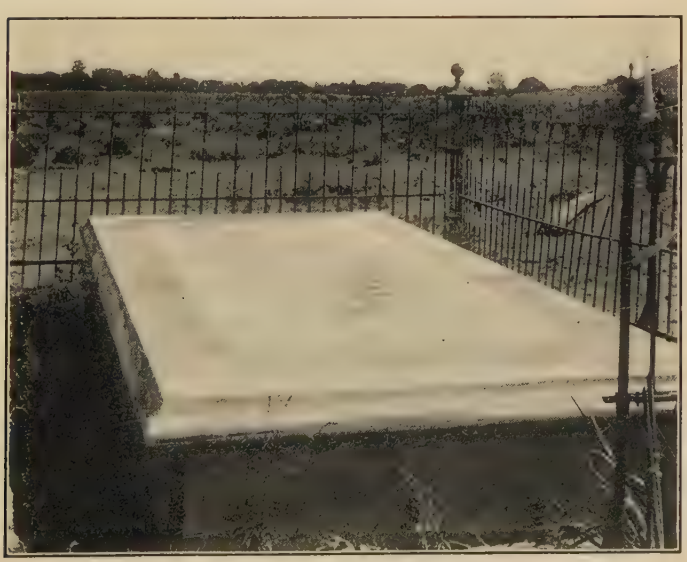
Dr. Whitman's family consisted of the following twenty-two persons: Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers (a missionary), seven adopted children named Sager, three adopted half-breed children, Miss Meek, Mr. Sayles, Mr. Hoffman of New York, J. Stanfield (a Canadian), Joe Lewis (the Catholic half-breed), two half-breed boys, and Miss Spalding. Of these, seven were sick, some of them very sick.

The following were killed:

Dr. Marcus Whitman,
Mrs. Whitman,
Mr. C. Rogers,
John Sager,
Mr. Saunders,
Francis Sager,
Mr. Marsh,
Mr. Hoffman,
Mr. Gillam,
Mr. Hall,
Amos Sayles,
Mr. Bewley,
Mr. Kimball,
Mr. Young.

From the best accounts it appears that ten persons

THE FIRST GRAVE OF THE MARTYRS



THE PRESENT TOMB

were killed on the first day of the massacre, November the 29th, and four others subsequently, some of them on the next day, the 30th.

Nearly fifty persons, mostly women and children, were taken prisoners by the Indians, the women being subjected to horrible abuse. The remaining few succeeded in escaping. Mr. Hall escaped to the fort of the Hudson's Bay Company but was not permitted to remain there, and after crossing the river he was never seen again. His name is therefore included in the list of killed, as without doubt he was murdered by the Indians before he could reach a place of safety. The prisoners were subsequently redeemed and released through the humane and strenuous efforts of Chief Factor Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company. Some of them afterwards subscribed to depositions relating the facts and details of the massacre and their captivity, and embodying accounts of the most fearful and heartrending atrocities.

The Americans in the valley of the Willamette, who, as already observed, had put in operation a provisional government under Governor Abernethy, immediately organized an armed force. Although the Catholic priests and the Hudson's Bay people deprecated a war with the Indians, these settlers sent out about five hundred men, pursued the Indians, and fought several battles. Governor Abernethy, in his message to the legislature, in February, 1849, said:

"It is true that the Indians engaged in the massacre were not captured and punished; they were, however, driven from their homes, their country taken possession of, and they made to understand that the power of the white man is far superior to their own." [1]

[1] *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, p. 250.

Governor Lane, in 1849, carried on negotiations with the Cayuses, urging them to surrender the murderers without war, but plainly telling them that if they did not do so, war would follow. They agreed to meet him near the Dalles in May, 1850, and they kept their promise. Then and there they delivered to him five murderers. These men were tried and executed at Oregon City. Their names were Te-lou-i-kite, Tam-a-has, Klop-a-mas, Ki-am-a-sump-kin, and I-sa-i-a-cha-lak-is.

For a time this broke up the Protestant missionary operations in the upper country, but the American party now had possession. Additional emigrants came from year to year, the boundary question had been settled, a territorial organization was soon effected by act of Congress, as already seen, and the affairs of that distant country rapidly improved.

CHAPTER XXI

CAUSES OF THE MASSACRE

WHAT were the causes which led to this terrible massacre? Why should the Indians kill a man who had proved himself for many years a true and tried friend to them?

The ostensible reasons given by one party were as follows:

1. "The encroachment of a superior upon an inferior race."

2. Especially in this: that the whites were steadily obtaining the lands of the Indians.

3. That Dr. Whitman was poisoning the Indians.

4. That various minor causes of dissatisfaction had existed for some years before the massacre, which had grown until the Indians were exasperated, and the more impetuous could not be held back by the more friendly and the better class.

In reply to the first and second of these reasons, it should be said that far less encroachment had been made in the vicinity of Dr. Whitman's station than elsewhere in Oregon. Dr. Whitman himself prevented settlers from taking the Indian lands, and sent them off to other sections, that he might not be disturbed in his missionary labors with the Indians. Besides, it should be observed that the Hudson's Bay

people had taken land from the Indians, and though they were of the same "superior" race, yet none of them were disturbed.[1]

Mr. Gray says concerning these dissatisfactions in regard to the lands: "At that time there was not a band or tribe of Indians west of the Rocky Mountains but was ready to give land to any white man that would come and live in their country." He further states that "the 'encroachments of a superior upon an inferior race' had no part in the matter."[2]

The third charge was so manifestly unjust and untrue that nobody pretended to believe it. Yet the story must have been set on foot by somebody and with a motive, and its influence upon the minds of the superstitious savages was doubtless great.

Of the fourth reason, it may be said that the Indians were evidently exasperated, but no petty dissatisfactions have been shown of sufficient importance or interest to incite these bloody savages to such a terrible slaughter.

The sufficient causes for so horrible a crime are yet to be found. The alienation which had grown out of the conflicting efforts of the Protestant missionaries and the Roman Catholic Jesuits, and the diverse interests which were found to exist between the Hudson's Bay people and the Americans, in their effect upon the Indian mind and passions must be considered as having their proper influence in fanning whatever flame of discontent against the Americans existed in the minds of the Indians.

Major Lee, who was sent out in command of a mili-

[1] Dr. Eells told the writer he knew of no case in which an American family had taken any land in the Walla Walla Valley.

[2] Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 461.

tary force, wrote to the government, December 26, 1847: "The Indians are all friendly with the Hudson's Bay Company's men, and I am truly sorry to learn that Mr. Ogden paid them powder and ball for making portage at The Dalles." It is also stated that soon after, at Walla Walla, the Indians received from this Company "twelve common guns, six hundred loads of ammunition, twelve flints, thirty-seven pounds of tobacco, sixty-two three-point blankets, sixty-three common shirts." [1]

The priest, J. B. A. Brouillett, who signs himself "Vicar-General of Walla Walla," on the next day after the horrible massacre was on the ground and baptized children of these same Indians.[2]

The Oregon Presbytery of the Old School Presbyterian Church, after a full investigation, adopted a report which says:

"The causes of the massacre were reducible to two, viz.: The purpose of the English Government, or of the Hudson's Bay Company, to exclude American settlers from the country; and the efforts of Catholic priests to prevent the introduction of education and Protestantism by preventing the settlement of American citizens: and the efforts which both parties made, operating on the ignorant and suspicious minds of the savages, led to the butchery in which fourteen lives were destroyed and most dreadful sufferings and brutal injuries inflicted on the survivors." [3]

The Methodist Church in Oregon and several other denominations of Christians adopted similar reports upon the subject.

Mrs. Victor, in her *River of the West*, says:

"Mr. Hall was the first to arrive at the fort, where, con-

[1] Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 558.

[2] See J. Ross Browne's *Report to Congress*, p. 36.

[3] Spalding's pamphlet, p. 63.

trary to his expectations, and to all humanity, he was but coldly received by the gentleman in charge, Mr. McBean. . . . Unfortunately for Mr. McBean's reputation, he declined to grant shelter willingly. . . . Whether Mr. McBean would have allowed this man to perish (he had left the fort and never was heard from afterwards) is uncertain; but certain it is that some base or cowardly motive made him exceedingly cruel to both Hall and Osborne. . . . The reader of this chapter of Oregon history will always be very much puzzled to understand by what means the Catholic priests procured their perfect exemption from harm during this time of terror to the Americans. . . . Certain it is, that they preserved a neutral position, when to be neutral was to seem, if not to be, devoid of human sympathies." [1]

Much has been written as to the causes, direct and remote, of this massacre. The case is by no means simple or easy to be determined. There is no question but that the Hudson's Bay Company, in its interests and feelings, was largely antagonistic to the American movement, and therefore to the work of the Protestant missionaries. Some of its officers can hardly be held blameless. Yet the many kindnesses shown by most of the managers of that Company to the missionaries, first and last, were such as to make it difficult to believe that there was any concerted movement among them to instigate or increase the antagonism of the disaffected Indians toward Dr. Whitman and his friends. John McLoughlin was a noble man, kindly, generous, humane. He was always earnest, upright, magnanimous,—perhaps too much so, in the opinion of some of the English managers of the Company, for their interests. Possibly he was an exception among the leading men of that great corporation. Mr. Ogden is certainly entitled to unlimited praise for his successful efforts to redeem and

[1] Victor, *River of the West*, pp. 415–420.

release the captives after the massacre. Indeed, there is so much evidence in favor of the officers of the Company that it would be exceedingly difficult to show complicity in the massacre, if it were not unkind or ungrateful to suggest it. It would not be strange, however, under all the circumstances, among a people so far removed from the restraints of civilization, if one or more of these Hudson's Bay men should have at times overstepped the bounds of propriety and to some extent fanned the flames of discontent and disaffection among the Indians.

It was an unfortunate circumstance that Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries were attempting to carry on their work among the Indians at the same time and in the same place. The Protestant missionaries were first in the field and had done the Indians great good. Many of the Hudson's Bay officers and employees were French Canadians and Roman Catholics, and naturally, they wished to have Catholic priests among them. Some of these priests, Jesuits, were earnest in their work of proselyting the Indians, and that they should come into collision with the plans and purposes of the Protestant missionaries could hardly be avoided. But if there was any connection, direct or indirect, with the massacre, such movement must have been confined to a very small number of individuals. It would be difficult to establish sufficient proof against them to indicate participation with the disaffected Indians. Yet the circumstances were such as to arouse suspicions in after years, on the part of Protestant denominations,— Presbyterian, Methodist, and others,— and a feeling, somewhat widespread, that Catholic priests were implicated in this terrible calamity. It would be difficult, however, to

substantiate that view of the case, at any rate further than to leave in the mind grave suspicions against a very small number of persons.

Dr. Nixon, in his life of Whitman says:

"There have been few great men who have not felt the stings of criticism and misrepresentation. The wholly unselfish life of Dr. Marcus Whitman, from his young manhood to the day of his death, it would seem, ought to have shielded him from this class, but it did not. In justice to his contemporaries, however, it is due to say, every one of them, of all denominations, except one, was his friend and defender.

"That one man was a French Jesuit priest, by the name of J. B. A. Brouillett. He was Acting Bishop among the Indians, of a tribe near to the Cayuse, where Dr. Whitman had labored for eleven years, and where he perished in 1847. After the massacre, there were some grave charges made against Brouillett, and in 1853 he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, 'Protestantism in Oregon,' in which he made a vicious attack upon the dead Whitman, and the living Dr. Spalding and the other Protestant missionaries of the American Board."[1]

Without doubt Joe Lewis, the half-breed, was a bad man, unprincipled and treacherous. The evidence seems clear that he, more than any one else, instigated this terrible crime, and that he was one of the leaders in executing the awful deed.

It should not be forgotten that the Indians were exceedingly superstitious, and easily influenced against persons when their suspicions had once been aroused. For some reason these Indians had been influenced to believe, or feel, that the white people, that is, the Americans, were intending to take away their lands. They also from some cause, whatever it may have been, came to the conclusion that the Americans wanted to kill off the Indians. It has already been

[1] Dr. O. W. Nixon, *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, pp. 233, 234.

shown that there was no foundation for these beliefs. The Americans were their best friends, and the missionaries were doing all in their power for the comfort, well-being, and uplifting of the Indians. But however baseless these charges were, they influenced the minds of the suspicious and superstitious Indians.

It happened, also, that from time to time contagious diseases broke out among the Indians and raged with fearful effect. In particular the measles, just before the massacre, was sweeping off the Indians in large numbers. They were told that Dr. Whitman was poisoning them. There is scarcely a doubt that Joe Lewis circulated this story. Finally, the bad blood got the ascendancy and reason was left out of the question. The excited, suspicious savages, led on perhaps by a few malicious leaders, determined to annihilate those who they had been led to believe were their enemies and destroyers. Hence this terrible massacre, which destroyed so many lives and subjected a still larger number of innocent persons to horrible cruelties while captives in the hands of the savages. The result was that all Protestant missionary operations in Idaho and eastern Oregon and Washington were for many years entirely broken up.

The causes leading to this massacre are fully discussed in Gray's *History of Oregon*, in the two pamphlets published by Congress to which frequent reference has been made, in Dr. Craighead's *Life of Whitman*, and in Dr. Nixon's *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*.

The public estimate of the character and labors of Dr. Whitman has been remarkably unanimous and strong in his favor.

General Lane, in the national House of Representatives, April, 1856, said of him:

"Among those who have thus labored faithfully and unremittingly, and with a singleness of purpose and self-sacrificing zeal which commands the respect of all who observed his elevated and untiring labors, was Dr. Marcus Whitman.

"Never, in my opinion, did missionary go forth to the field of his labors animated by a nobler purpose or devote himself to his task with more earnestness and sincerity, than this meek and Christian man.

"He arrived in 1836, and established his mission in the Waiilatpu country east of the Cascade Mountains, and devoted his entire time to the education and improvement of the Indians, teaching them the arts of civilization, the mode of cultivating the soil, to plant, to sow, to reap, to do all the duties that pertain to civilized man. He erected mills, plowed their grounds, sowed their crops, and assisted in gathering in their harvests.

"About the time he had succeeded in teaching them some of these arts and the means of using some of these advantages, they rose against him without cause, and without notice, and massacred him and his wife, and many others who were at the mission at the time."

The following quotations give other estimates:

"Let it not be forgotten that our republic is indebted to the enlightened patriotism of Marcus Whitman, who heroically defied the dangers of a winter journey across the continent, and by the communication of important facts to our Government prevented the cession of a large portion of our Pacific domain to Great Britain.

"Oregon Presbytery,
"A. L. Lindsey, D.D.,
"Moderator."

"On the banks of the Walla Walla, in a lovely grove, unmarked by an inscription, the mortal remains of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman have slumbered away the years. They sleep not far from the spot where the consecrated years of their mature life were so lavishly given to that noblest of all work, raising the fallen and saving the lost.

Living, they were the peers of such heroes and heroines as Dr. and Mrs. Ann Hasseltine Judson; and dying, their memory is entitled to the same enshrinement in the grateful regards of a church and state, indebted to them for one of the finest illustrations of unselfish patriotism and of the purity and power of the ancient faith. And when He whom they served with such special devotion shall assemble his best beloved, they of the eastern shall greet those of the western shore of the Pacific, and hail them fellow heirs to martyr's robe and crown.

"Rev. H. K. Hines,"
in *Ladies' Repository*, September, 1863.

"I consider Dr. Whitman to have been a brave, kind, devoted, and intrepid spirit, without malice and without reproach. In my best judgment, he made greater sacrifices, endured more hardships, and encountered more perils for Oregon than any other one man.

"Peter H. Burnett."

CHAPTER XXII

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AND THE WHITMAN MONUMENT

THE mortal remains of the martyrs were buried in one great grave near where Whitman had so long lived and labored for the Indians. This grave became, in time, more or less neglected, and the fence which had originally been built around it fell down, but a new one was erected in 1884.

The remains of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and the others were disinterred on October 22, 1897, to allow for the building of a new tomb. A handsome metallic coffin was presented by Mrs. Picard of Walla Walla, and the remains of the dead were placed within it. On January 29, 1898, a burial service was conducted by Rev. E. L. Smith and Rev. E. N. Condit, pastors of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Walla Walla; the coffin was placed in the vault, and a massive slab of marble, weighing two tons, was lowered to its place and sealed. The names of the thirteen persons martyred in 1847, and there buried, are carved on the polished marble.

The fiftieth anniversary of the massacre was observed by the people of Walla Walla, in their opera house, November 29 and 30, 1897. On Monday evening, November 29th, the opera house was filled by an immense crowd. The singing was by the "Whitman Memorial

Chorus " of sixty voices. Nine survivors of the Whitman massacre were present. The Scriptures were read by Rev. Samuel Greene of Seattle, whose father, Rev. David Greene, had been secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and had signed the commissions of Marcus Whitman and his associates in 1836. The address of the evening, given by Rev. L. H. Hallock, D.D., was an historical account of the work done by Dr. Whitman in saving Oregon from the Hudson's Bay Company.

On Tuesday forenoon a great crowd was carried by two special trains to the town of Whitman, formerly Waiilatpu, where it was expected that the monument to the memory of Whitman would that day be dedicated. On account of an unfortunate complication of circumstances the monument had not arrived, and the dedicatory exercises were necessarily postponed. The weather, too, was unfavorable for outdoor exercises. However, brief addresses were made at the grave, upon which choice flowers were laid. Three adopted daughters of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, sisters named Sager, whose father and mother both died on the journey to Oregon, were still living, and present on this occasion. The oldest of the three, Mrs. Catherine Sager Pringle, made a brief and touching address at the grave, which moved many to tears. It was as follows:

" Ladies and Gentlemen of Walla Walla:

" I cannot express to you the feelings of my sisters, myself, and these survivors as we view this scene.

" Fifty years ago yesterday morning the sun rose yonder on a happy home and all the busy bustle of life. The sun went down on a scene of death and desolation,—of weeping and wailing.

" Fifty years ago to-day we went as prisoners of a savage

band of Indians—no hope of escape—all dark and despair. But Providence made a way of escape and we stand here to-day.

"We desire to thank the people of Walla Walla and the Northwest for their presence here, for their kindness in burying our dead, and for their royal entertainment. We desire also to thank the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company for the generosity that enables us to be here and see the dream of many years consummated. These acts of kindness will be told to our children's children and be carried down to the future generations in grateful remembrance, as each recurring anniversary passes."

In the opera house that evening, Rev. J. R. Wilson, D.D., of Portland, made an extended address as the representative of the Whitman Monument Association. Other addresses were made, and the following poem was read:[1]

This is a land of captains of the sword.
Here, in hot battle with the heathen horde,
  Upon Multnomah's shores fought Sheridan.
  These scenes Grant knew ere blood-stained Rapidan.
Here gallant Baker wrote on Fame's high scroll,
Ere in the first fierce charge, death called the roll
Of early martyrs to the Union goal.

But one there was who came in peace and zeal,
To lift the cross and guide the conq'ring wheel;
  His sword the flaming truth, his sign the cross,
  He counted all but faith as empty dross.
Fair was that noble form, and fairer e'en his bride—
Whitman, who dared for Oregon to ride,
Who saved an empire, and a martyr died.

Unfolds another scene—of frosted pines and icy plains below,
With dark and sullen rivers through the snow,
  With red men's lodges shivering in the gale
  Which sweeps the mountain side and chills the vale;

[1] See the *Whitman College Quarterly*, Dec., 1897, which says: "This poem was written by a distinguished editor who wishes his name withheld. It was read by Prof. O. A. Hauerbach."

Gaunt wolfish forms skulk in the fading light,
Their gleaming eyes burn with the fierce delight,
Shrill cries proclaim the quarry is in sight.

Oh, ride, Whitman, ride this hour for life—
For death is by thy side! One thought of home and wife—
Then plunge into the stream and fight the tide;
Wide are the waters—gain the other side,
And you have won the race. Ride, Whitman, ride!

Into the West two hundred wagons wheel;
Two hundred men, all armed with rifle steel;
They guard the seed of empire to that shore,
Which feels the west sea's shock, and hears its breakers roar.
The weary day is ended. From the plain
The glare of desert sun is gone again.

From out the steel-black sky the starry gleams
Look down upon a bivouac in dreams.
Save that from out the darkling depths of night
Is heard the duskhawk's beating wing in flight;—
Or that, from far across the shallow tide
Is borne the plaintive note of whippoorwill,
Deep hid in covert all the day, until
Night calms her fears, and she may speed her soul
Up to the gates of paradise, and roll
Her flood of song all eloquent and wild;—
Or that a weary mother soothes her fretful child;—
Unbroken solitude holds court serene and mild.

From out the shadows of the tented wheels
A form emerges, speaks a kindly word, and kneels
Beside the mother and her sick child's bed.
From rising sun that noble form has led
The reeling caravan into the West;
Has found the ford, has climbed the distant crest,
Has led the way which always proved the best.

Others may rest, stern duty calls him on—
To cheer the faint, to watch the sick till dawn.
The dying camp-fire throws a fitful flare
Into the darkness, and the yellow glare
Illumes in peace that calm and tender face,
All sanctified with sacrifice and grace.

'T is done ; 't is won. Our Whitman rode to save
New stars for Freedom's banner. It shall wave
O'er states which proud Britannia may not claim.
Three stars he added to that flag of flame,
And won an empire and a deathless name.

The monument is a tall, graceful shaft of granite, located upon the summit of a small but steep hill, near the grave of the martyred. The railroad from Walla Walla to Wallula runs directly past the foot of this hill, so that passengers in the trains upon this road see the monument in the near foreground. It is visible from different points many miles away. It is enclosed by a neat iron fence, and altogether presents a very attractive appearance.

THE WHITMAN MONUMENT

CHAPTER XXIII

MR. GRAY AND HIS FLOCK OF SHEEP

AFTER Mr. William H. Gray withdrew from the missionary service in 1842, he went to the Willamette Valley. Four years later he moved to Clatsop, on the Pacific shore, a few miles south of the mouth of the Columbia. Here he had a large herd of cows and made butter for the Astoria and Portland markets. He was convinced that Oregon was a fine country for sheep, but there were few sheep in the territory. In 1852, he determined to execute a bold movement for the benefit of Oregon—no less an enterprise than the introduction of a large number of sheep into that country. For this purpose he mortgaged his ranch, and late in the fall of that year, perhaps about the first of December, he sailed for San Francisco.

While at San Francisco he learned that Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire had been elected President. From there he took steamer for Panama, and touched at Acapulco about Christmas. From Panama he crossed the isthmus to Aspinwall, and thence went by steamer to New York. He went to Washington and had an interview with Joseph Lane, the territorial governor of Oregon, who was at that time delegate from Oregon to the House of Representatives. He was in Washington only two or three days, but how

much he must have enjoyed it! He was an active, earnest, energetic man, conversant with public affairs, and had been in the Indian missionary service in Oregon from 1836 to 1842. He had never been in Washington before, and here he was, at the capital of his country, a representative farmer living upon the very shore of the Pacific Ocean.

He returned from Washington to New York, and went from there to Cincinnati, where he remained about two weeks. From Cincinnati he went on to St. Louis, up the Mississippi River to Rock Island, and from there to Iowa City. In Iowa, in the spring of 1853, he bought and gathered together a flock of about four hundred sheep. He bought a pair of horses and a two-horse wagon, hired three men to go with him, and secured a shepherd dog. He started about the first of May, and as the grass had not yet grown he was obliged to carry in his wagon a supply of corn.

His destination was the Clatsop plain on the Oregon coast. His route was first to Independence on the western border of Missouri, up the Kansas River to the Methodist mission station, thence across country to the South Platte, up that river, across to the North Platte, to Fort Laramie, the Sweetwater, and the South Pass. This was the fourth time he had traveled that route. From the South Pass he followed the usual trail across the Green River to Fort Hall; and through that entire journey, driving his large flock of sheep across the plains and over the mountains, he averaged twenty miles a day. From Fort Hall his path was the Whitman trail, nearly on the same line where now is the Oregon Short Line Railroad, down the Umatilla River, and along

the new Whitman trail to The Dalles. His land journey was now substantially over.

He transported his sheep from The Dalles to the Cascades on a scow. He was obliged to drive his flock around the Cascades, and then he purchased a large flat-bottomed boat or scow, 16 x 60 feet, and upon this single boat he huddled his 360 sheep. He had also a rowboat in tow, and thus equipped, he descended the Columbia River to the mouth of the Willamette. Here he waited for a steamboat which was about to sail from Portland to Astoria, and engaged the captain to tow his flatboat down the river. Casting off from the steamer at Astoria, he started for Clatsop plain, some fifteen miles distant in a southwestern direction. A good breeze sprang up from the northeast, and he put up a sail which soon carried him across Young's Bay. Just before reaching the shore he sent out his rowboat with a line to fasten to the shore. His line was about sixty feet in length, and too short to reach the land. While they were in this situation, a sudden squall came upon them from the southwest. A government pilot-boat, seeing their danger, came to their aid, but the squall was so severe that it could not reach them. This squall sent them careering across the bay and across the Columbia River to Chinook Point, opposite Astoria. There the scow filled with water and sank, and every sheep was drowned. Mr. Gray saved himself, his men, and his dog by the rowboat.

Poor Mr. Gray! What a terrible disappointment! How great was the loss to Oregon! Probably this story has never before been published. It is now written from notes taken the 6th of March, 1885, when Mr. Gray himself told the story to the writer. From Mr. Gray's appearance as he told it, one would

be warranted in drawing the inference that he took the matter philosophically, paid off his men, discharged them, returned to his home, said but little about the catastrophe, and immediately set to work upon other lines.

Mr. Gray passed a considerable part of his life engaged in steamboating, and left four sons who have been steamboat captains. He was the author of a history of Oregon, of 624 pages, which was published in 1870. He wrote much for the newspapers, and was the author of several pamphlets discussing the story of Dr. Whitman and his labors for Oregon. He was for several years president of the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society. He died in Portland, in 1889, at nearly eighty years of age.

CHAPTER XXIV

FATHER EELLS AND WHITMAN SEMINARY

IN 1859, Father Eells, then acting as teacher in the Tualatin Academy, made a vacation visit to the former station of Dr. Whitman and the grave which contained the remains of Whitman, his wife, and other victims of the massacre. While standing by that grave, he solemnly promised the Heavenly Father that he would do what he could to establish a school of high order which should carry down to the future the name of Dr. Whitman. On reaching home he sought the advice of the Congregational Association. Its approval was given in these words:

"In the judgment of this Association the contemplated purpose of Brother C. Eells to remove to Waiilatpu to establish a Christian school at that place, to be called Whitman Seminary, in memory of the noble deeds and great worth, and in fulfilment of the benevolent plans, of the lamented Dr. Whitman and wife; and his further purpose to act as a home missionary in the Walla Walla Valley, meet our cordial approbation, and shall receive our earnest support."

During the winter following he obtained a charter for "Whitman Seminary" from the Territorial Legislature of Washington, and bought the mission premises containing 640 acres. In the spring of 1860, he borrowed from Dr. William Geiger a yoke of oxen, and with his own pair of horses and wagon left his home

at Forest Grove, accompanied by his older son, then eighteen years of age, and set out for the Walla Walla Valley. On the Whitman premises, through the entire summer of 1880, Father Eells and his son lived in a log house, fourteen feet square, with the ground for a floor and a roof made of logs covered with earth. They cultivated the land during the week, and on Sunday Father Eells almost invariably preached here and there at different places in the valley. In the autumn they sold their crop of corn for $700 and returned to Forest Grove for the winter.

The Eells family were separated again in the spring of 1861, the mother and the younger son remaining at Forest Grove while the father and the other son made their annual journey to Waiilatpu, now known as the township of Whitman. In the fall of that year, since they were unable to sell their crops, the son said: "Father, you go home and take care of mother and Myron. I will stay here and sell the crops." The father took up his long journey to the Willamette Valley and the son remained through the winter.

Rev. Myron Eells gives the following account:

"A good family, C. H. Adams, wife and five children, and another young man wintered there with him—eight in all—in a house fourteen feet square with the ground for the floor and a dirt roof. It was a severe winter. Snow lay on the ground from December to March; the mercury fell to 29° below zero; almost all cattle died; the ground floor in the house froze and thawed around the fire and made mud; water froze in the drinking cup on the table at meals between drinks; Mr. Eells's son and another young man slept in a large freight wagon all winter, never taking off their clothes for seventy-two nights." [1]

In the spring of 1862, Mrs. Eells said to her hus-

[1] Myron Eells, *Father Eells*, p. 180.

band: "Well, Father, if you are going to the mission station this summer, I 'm going with you." So Father Eells with his wife and younger son made the trip together by steamer to The Dalles, and then 175 miles overland. An account of their departure has been given by Professor W. D. Lyman, who says:

"Well do I remember, though not more than eight years old, the departure of the Eells family for Walla Walla, then a mysterious, far-away region, haunted by savages and mixed up with glowing accounts of fabulous mines, and gold bricks, and rich diggings. The little town of Forest Grove was all astir with the great event of the departure of Father Eells for the 'upper country.' When everything was packed and ready—and I remember with what activity he hurried about here and there with his boxes and bundles —he looked about on the little company of tearful neighbors — men, women, and wondering children — all of whom had known what the privations of that pioneer life were, and in his slow, solemn manner called on several to lead in prayer and then to sing. It must have seemed to one old enough to understand it almost like the parting of Paul from his disciples when they sorrowed most of all because they should see his face no more. And indeed it might almost have seemed the same to those from whom Father Eells was then parting. For the sanguinary records of Walla Walla, the deeds of blood that had before driven the missionaries out, made it seem to some of them almost like tempting Providence to go back so soon." [1]

The family lived at the station ten years, and meantime the way had opened for commencing operations with the seminary. A considerable settlement had been made a few miles from the station, and named Walla Walla. It seemed best to locate the seminary there rather than, in accordance with Eells's first plan, at the station. In 1866, Dr. D. S. Baker gave to the seminary six acres of land on which it might be located,

[1] *Whitman Collegian*, March, 1893.

directly within the village of Walla Walla. A two-story building, 20 x 46 feet, was erected during the summer and dedicated on Saturday, October 13, 1866. The school was opened the following Monday, October 15th, with Rev. P. B. Chamberlain as principal and Miss M. A. Hodgdon and Miss E. W. Sylvester, assistants. For a number of years the school was kept open a few months each year, sometimes with a hired principal, and sometimes with Father Eells himself as preceptor.

In 1882, Dr. A. J. Anderson, then president of the Territorial University at Seattle, was obtained as president of what was now to become Whitman College. He began his services in September, 1882, and forty of the leading citizens of Walla Walla guaranteed $3000 a year for three years to pay salaries. The next year a college charter was obtained and the institution entered upon its regular college work. After an experience of less than twenty years it is one of the leading colleges of the great Northwest. The first building has been enlarged by an extensive addition and made into a ladies' hall. A fine two-story building was immediately erected for college purposes, and within the last year or two the college has been successful in raising its first endowment fund. Dr. D. K. Pearsons gave to the college $50,000, on condition that $150,000 more be raised for an endowment. This has been accomplished.

The present president is Rev. S. B. L. Penrose, and he is assisted by a faculty of able men wholly devoted to their work. A large college building, called the "Whitman Memorial Building," has been erected as a gift from Dr. Pearsons. They have for some time greatly needed a new recitation hall and a young men's

WHITMAN COLLEGE BUILDINGS

1. Billings Hall 2. Conservatory of Music (the old College Building)
3. Memorial Building

dormitory. The number of students has rapidly increased, and at the present time the accommodations are not sufficient for all who apply. The future of this institution is very promising, but it is still in great need of funds.

After forty-five years of consecutive service in Oregon and Washington as missionary, teacher, and preacher, Dr. Eells came east in 1883, being then seventy-four years of age. He came to solicit funds for the college, and he raised personally more than twelve thousand dollars.

After his return west, he continued to labor unceasingly for the college and occasionally preached to his former friends, the Indians. He assisted many young churches in their infancy and weakness, in some cases preaching two years without any pay at all. From 1872 to 1883, eleven years, he preached constantly both to Indians and whites with no stated salary from any source. At one time, for eleven weeks' service in Colville Valley he received about $250, all of which he gave away except enough for actual expenses. It was his custom, whenever a Congregational church was built, to present it with a bell; and many of the churches of the present state of Washington have bells which were given to them by Father Eells when they were first built.

His first donation to Whitman College was one half of the land, 320 acres, which had formerly been Dr. Whitman's mission premises. In all he gave personally to Whitman College the full sum of $10,000. He gave to the American Board $2500; to the American Educational Society, $1000. He gave to Pacific University, which grew out of the Tualatin Academy at Forest Grove, the sum of $500, which was so profitably

invested that before his death the gift had increased to $12,500. To sixteen Congregational churches, most of them in Washington, he gave various sums from $50 to $1600, and the total amount of money which he gave directly to educational and benevolent purposes would aggregate more than $25,000.

Ten years of his life were spent in missionary labors among the Indians, twenty-four years in educational, and eleven years in home mission work. He was a godly man, conscientious, excessively modest, thoroughly devoted to his work. His last days were spent with his son Edwin, and he died on February 16, 1893, which was his birthday. He was just eighty-three years of age.

CHAPTER XXV

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

SIXTY years ago the feeling was widespread that the Oregon country would be useless to the United States. In 1842, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* declaimed vociferously against the acquisition of Oregon, with this declaration:

"Of all the countries upon the face of the earth Oregon is one of the least favored by Heaven. It is the mere riddlings of creation. It is almost as barren as Sahara and quite as unhealthy as the campana of Italy. Russia has her Siberia and England her Botany Bay, and if the United States should ever need a country to which to banish her rogues and scoundrels, the utility of such a region as Oregon would be demonstrated."

That country is now known to contain millions of acres of most fertile soil. It has large tracts of land that are fruitful beyond comparison. Out of it have been made the three great states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, besides more than fifty thousand square miles in western Montana and Wyoming. The climate is healthful and the atmosphere invigorating. It lies between 42° and 49° north, yet even in that high latitude the climate is so mild that the temperature seldom falls below the freezing point.

Dr. T. T. Minor, in charge of the marine hospital on Puget Sound, wrote to a friend in Philadelphia, on

the 23d of January, that the weather was delightful; that English violets and wallflowers were in bloom in his garden, and that they had just transplanted their cabbage plants. The summers are remarkably delightful. The temperature is uniform, and the prevailing winds are north and west. The noonday heat ranges from 65° to 85° Fahrenheit, and the nights are so cool that a person would seldom be too warm sleeping under "two flannel blankets and a bed quilt." The country is therefore not subject to the evils resulting from sudden changes of temperature, as in some parts of other states. The exhilarating ocean breeze which sets in almost every day during the summer contributes greatly to purifying the atmosphere.

Wheat, oats, rye, and barley can be cultivated with great success and with a large profit; the quality of the grain is excellent and the yield is large. The writer has seen in Oregon a wheat-field of seventy acres, from which the crop averaged fifty-seven bushels to the acre and the wheat weighed from sixty-three to sixty-five pounds per bushel. From six hundred to eight hundred bushels of onions have been raised from a single acre, and a field of potatoes has been known to yield more than seven hundred and fifty bushels per acre.

Cattle not only find excellent grazing in the summer, but also may receive their entire subsistence throughout the winter from grazing. The rivers of other sections may furnish a greater variety of fish, but it may be doubted whether in any other part of the world a larger quantity of excellent fish, especially salmon, can be taken than from the waters of the Columbia, Puget Sound, and along the coast.

The Oregon country is now directly connected with

the Atlantic slope by four transcontinental railroads. The Columbia River furnishes the only commodious harbor between Puget Sound and San Francisco. Puget Sound has wonderful advantages from its deep water and perpendicular banks at the water's edge, and in this bay, a hundred miles in length, the navies of the world could float in salt water, thoroughly protected from the winds of the Pacific Ocean.

New York now vies with London in controlling the commerce of the world. During the year 1899, for the first time in history, the foreign exports from New York City had a superior tonnage and a greater value than the exports from London. The growth of the great interior city, Chicago, has been more rapid than that of any other city in the world's history. The third great city of our republic will quite probably be located on Puget Sound. The route from New York to Yokohama, *via* Puget Sound, being so much nearer to a great circle, is about eight hundred miles shorter than that by the way of San Francisco.

Puget Sound is surrounded by immense forests of the finest timber in the world, in such great quantities that it is impossible to exhaust the supply. The timber trade from that region to all parts of the world is now large, and it has been estimated that at the present rate of cutting, it would take a thousand years to market the timber which has already attained its best growth. A flag-staff, erected a few years ago on the lawn in front of a New England dwelling house, was brought from Puget Sound around Cape Horn. It was one hundred and twenty-five feet high, nine inches through at the top, and the tree was five hundred years old when it was cut down.

When President Hayes made a visit to this region,

in 1879, he and his party were taken on board a small steamboat at Seattle and carried out to an island where was situated one of the largest sawmills. A log was ready to be rolled over upon the carriage, and the President of the United States was requested to saw off from this log the four slabs. It was put in its proper place upon the long carriage and clamped. The President was then requested to start the saw in motion and saw off the first slab. He did so and brought the carriage back. The log was then turned over, the flat side downward, again clamped in its place, and the President sawed off the second slab; and in like manner the third and the fourth. There was left upon the carriage a stick of timber four feet square and one hundred feet long. If that square stick of timber were sawed into half-inch boards, it would make boards enough to cover a building one hundred feet square and sixty feet high, and put a roof over it. The four slabs which the President sawed off would furnish timber enough to make the frame and all the boarding needed inside and out for the building of a two-story house, four rooms upon each floor. Furthermore, this piece was but one third the length of the tree. These illustrations have been given to furnish some sort of an adequate idea of the timber of that region.

It seems likely that a large part of even British and European trade with eastern Asia will be carried on across the North American continent. Tea is now unloaded in New York, whole train-loads at a time, which has been received from Yokohama, *via* the Canadian Pacific Railroad, in twenty-one days.

The population of Oregon is now five times, and that of Washington ten times, what it was twenty-five

years ago. The population of California is more than three times what it was twenty-five years ago. What the population of this Pacific coast will be a century hence is almost beyond conjecture. What the absolute and the relative importance, politically and commercially, of that distant section of our republic will be in the year 2000 no one surely would venture to predict to-day.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

IT is with much satisfaction that the following documents, which throw light upon the history of events as set forth in this book, are presented. Most of these have been copied, after much research and careful examination, from the records and letters connected with the Oregon mission, on file in the rooms of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the Congregational House, Boston. These documents consist of the following:

1. A paper by Dr. Whitman on the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. Page 256.

2. Letter from Dr. Whitman, written from the Methodist mission, at the Shawnee Manual Labor School, May 30, 1843. Page 262.

3. Letter from Dr. Whitman after his return to Oregon, dated November 1, 1843. Page 264.

4. Extract from letter of Dr. Whitman, dated Waiilatpu, April 8, 1844. Page 268.

5. Letter from Dr. Whitman to the Secretary of War, with a proposed bill for the organization of Oregon, June, 1844. Page 274.

6. The last letter written by Dr. Whitman to the secretary of the Board, October 18, 1847. Page 284.

7. Memorial from Dr. Whitman to the Secretary of War, October, 1847. Page 287.

8. Letter from Rev. Cushing Eells to the secretary of the Board, giving an account of the massacre, December 10, 1847. Page 291.

9. Letter from Rev. H. H. Spalding to the secretary

of the Board, giving an account of the massacre, January 8, 1848. Page 300.

10. Letter from Rev. H. H. Spalding, dated January 24, 1848. Page 304.

11. Letter from Rev. Cushing Eells, with an address to the Indian chiefs by Chief Factor Ogden in behalf of the American prisoners held by the Indians after the massacre, and a letter from Mr. Ogden to Mr. Walker. Page 312.

12. Various accounts of the massacre, received *via* Honolulu, February, 1848. Page 317.

13. Letter from Rev. H. H. Spalding to the parents of Mrs. Whitman, dated April 6, 1848, and copied from the *Geneva Courier*. Page 323.

I

PAPER BY DR. WHITMAN ON INDIANS WEST OF ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Boston, April 7, 1843.

Rev. David Greene,
Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.

Dear Sir: In presenting you with a brief account of that part of the Oregon mission to which I am attached I shall best make you understand all its parts by giving a general view of the migratory habits of the people, and the manner in which these govern and modify the opportunities for religious instruction and attention to agriculture.

The months of February and March bring a return of the Indians from their winter dispersion in order to commence the agricultural year and also to avail themselves of such provisions as were stowed the previous fall; of which potatoes, corn and wheat form an important part. The months February, March, and April are mostly occupied with the labor of preparing and plowing the ground. About fifty cultivate in the vicinity of Waiilatpu varying from one fourth of an acre to three or four. A number of others have smaller patches mostly of potatoes which still do much for a poor and often fatherless family. I have been most agreeably surprised by being called on by individuals to grind corn for them the last of June, but more especially

by an old man that is deprived, by a rheumatic affliction, of the help of his wife, in providing food; who said to me last fall after the corn harvest, "I want to get four or five bags of last year's corn ground as my new crop is now secured." I adduce this as evidence of growing economy and industry. The first and second year all were furnished with one or two grubbing hoes by the Station who were thought likely to make a good use of them. Plows have of late either been lent or sold to all who were able and desired to use them. Seed was furnished the first three years without particular restriction not only to those near the Station, but to those also from a distance. Since that time we demand pay except when we are convinced there has been no neglect to save it for themselves. Our object has ever been to aid them in a way most effectually to call forth their own energy, economy and resource. I may remark that the effort to cultivate has not been confined to the Station only, but has had a very general introduction with more or less success among most of the Indians at their respective places of resort. At Lapwai, the Station of Mr. Spalding and its vicinity, there has been as much success in cultivation as at Waiilatpu and the number who cultivate are greater and I believe the quantity of ground is more. Near the vacant Station at Komiah a great addition was made the last year to the cultivated lands of the Indians besides the land of the Station most of which was cultivated by them also. At this, as also at the other Stations, the last season a number of cattle were brought from the Wallamette settlement in exchange for horses. One horse is given for a cow of the California breed. The Indians have from fifty to seventy horned cattle, mostly cows, which they have obtained partly from the H. B. Company, the settlers and Methodist Mission on the Wallamette, the Board's Mission, and then the last year from emigrants. One Indian only has been furnished with any sheep by our Mission. That was in payment for care taken of sheep of the Mission in the winter, to guard them from wolves. The number who resort to the Waiilatpu Station has not greatly changed since its formation, but all do not now attend our meeting as formerly; some having adopted the Papal forms.

Their migrations are much in the following order and number. The spring return is the most general and least changing of any of their visits to the Station. During this

period the congregations on the Sabbath have been from two to four hundred and from twenty to fifty on week day evenings. Planting commences about the middle of April, which is also the period for commencing the Kamsh harvest. To obtain this root, which is a farinaceous one, known by savages and traders as the biscuit-root, they have to disperse along the streams coming out of the Blue Mountains. Some are not more than ten or fifteen miles from the Station, while others are thirty or forty. This root forms a great staple of native food and will be likely for a long time to hold, in the minds of the natives, a collateral station with the cultivated roots and grains. From six to eight weeks are given to gathering, drying, and depositing this root. During this time from the tenth to the fifteenth of May, the salmon arrive and some fruits are ripe and each receive their share of attention. At this season all the smaller tributaries of the Columbia are barred by a web or wicker-work of willows for taking salmon. The skill and resource of the natives is well displayed in this simple construction and their small toil amply repayed by the ease with which a very considerable number are taken. While thus occupied, they visit the Station in order to attend to the hoeing and cultivation of their crops, a labor in most cases performed with care and neatness. The last weeks of June bring the usual period for those to leave who go after buffalo and the same period marks the time for getting the Kamsh. A migration of from forty to sixty miles brings them across the Blue Mountains to the southeast into the Grande Ronde, which is a large Kamsh plain. Here also the River of Grande Ronde abounds with fish and the mountains with bear, elk and deer. The wheat harvest, which begins the latter part of July, and the care of their other crops bring many around the Station from this time to the first of October, or until the potato harvest is passed. During this period there are more about the Station than at any period except the spring, and our congregation averages from fifty to two hundred. This period is marked by a great number coming and remaining for a short time and then going again and others coming; rather than by great numbers remaining stationary for any considerable time. During this period their attention is divided between their crops and herds, hunting and fishing and preparing dried fruit.

Soon after the potatoes are secured they begin to disperse for winter quarters. From fifty to sixty only remain during the winter, and thus the year comes round and February and March bring them back again. As many are benefited by this Station who seldom, if ever, bring their families to the Station as there are who migrate to and from it. Individuals from these places visit the Station for the purpose of being taught and to receive medicine and other favors. Occasional visits are also made to some of these places and instruction imparted. In this way an extensive acquaintance is made and much useful information and religious instruction given. Those who resort to this Station are the Waiilatpu, Walla Walla, and Numipu Indians. A general good attendance is given to religious worship, and solemn and thoughtful and careful attention to instruction. Worship is maintained by the principal men morning and evening, to which a general attendance is given.

Those who do not attend in this way have what comes nearer family worship in their separate lodges. Their migrations do not form any exception to this practice that I know of. I have abundant evidence of the restraining power of religious truth upon the minds of the natives both from remarks and observations of their own, and from my own observation. A noted chief of great supernatural and charm notoriety has often told me what he would have done in cases such as he named; intimating in what way he would have taken revenge or resorted to violence, but he added, "I am made weak by what I have been taught of my future accountability." Murder, violence and revenge were a terror to him now. The most violent and vexed states of rage I have ever seen among them have calmly yielded into kindness and perhaps submission under its restraining influence.

The superstitions of the supernatural agencies of magic, charm and sorcery are universal and by no means easily eradicated. Their legend is that the present race of beasts, birds, reptiles and fish were once a race of men, who inhabited the globe before the present race. That they were doomed to their present state from that of men, but that still their language is retained, and these beasts, birds, reptiles and fish have the power to convey this language to the people into whom they transfix themselves as they think them able to do. For the very comfort and

purpose of obtaining this transfixture boys were required to leave the lodge and repair to the mountains alone, and there to stay for several days without food in order to be addressed in this manner by some of these supernatural agencies and receive the transfixing of some one or more beast, bird, reptile or fish into his body. Some return without any assurance of the kind. Others believe themselves to be addressed and are very free to tell what was said to them, and what beast or bird addressed them, while others profess great secrecy and claim great reverence on account of their magic possession. At these times they profess to be told what is to be their future character and in what way to secure honor, wealth and long life; how they will be invulnerable, and if wounded, by what means they may recover themselves. This generally consists in directions how to cast off the exhausted blood and then to sit in a stream of water and sing as he so teaches him to do and he will be cured. In this way they say one person becomes possessed of power to strike or shoot another with an invisible influence or arrow as it may be, so that disease and death will follow. This is the foundation of the system of sorcery as seen in the so-called Medicine Men, but truly conjurers. Most of their efforts to care for the sick consist in obtaining one medicine man to counteract another, who is supposed to have caused the sickness. This is attempted by calling on one of these sorcerers, who calls to his aid a number of persons to sing and beat upon sticks with a horrible noise, while he goes through with singing, talking, contorting himself and using incoherent expressions supposed to be repeating what he knows of the language of the former race of men as delivered him by the beast, bird, reptile or fish whose transfix, which he has in his body, is helping him to conjure. After a sufficient display of this kind and a full lecture to his coadjutors about the disease, its cause and cure, he proceeds to extract the evil by placing his hands on the diseased or painful spot and extracting, as it were by magic power, and then if successful he casts himself upon the floor with his hands in water as though what he had extracted burnt his hands. He then shows what he has drawn out and afterwards drives it off into the broad space and prognosticates a cure. But when he sees a prospect of death he often points out some one whom he says is causing the sickness and declares the other to be

possessed of a more powerful agent than himself so that he cannot overcome him. In the event of death in such a case as this, they watch the dying person to see if any expression is made by him to confirm and fix suspicion upon the person named, and all are careful to remember if any hard words had passed or any cause whatever confirms the suspicion. Very often in cases of this kind nothing can save the conjurer, but one or more conspire to kill him. The number and horror of the deaths of this kind that have come under my observation and knowledge have been great. In the same way individuals arrogate to themselves power over the winds, the clouds, the rain, the snow and the seasons. In short, all and every desired or desirable object is attributed [to] and looked for from this source: some are losing their confidence in such power, while others are yet strong in the belief.

A young man under this influence shot himself through the body last July in order to convince his countrymen of the strength of his supernatural and protecting agent. The ball entered the abdomen a little to the right and below the umbilicus and came out by an oblique line above and near the spine on the same side. This occurred sixty miles from my house at the Grande Ronde, and the third day he encamped near me for the night, and I saw him and examined his wound in the morning. He was walking round and getting ready to move on and rode off on horseback. This was the second trial of his strength, having shot himself through much the same way about two years before. The cicatrix where the ball entered was near the last wound on the right side below the umbicilus, and that when it escaped was behind but near the spine on the left side and higher up on the body. This must have passed the large artery called the Aorta in its oblique course across the body. The body was preserved from the flash by his leather skirt. He will now be able to make himself reverenced and thought to be a strong mystery or medicine man.

The school has been more interrupted at our Station than at Lapwai, where Mrs. Spalding has taught a number of people and children to read and write their own language.

This document is not signed, but is filed and marked "Dr. M. Whitman, Rec'd April 7. Boston, 7 Apl. 1843."

2

LETTER FROM DR. WHITMAN, MAY, 1843

METHODIST MISSION AT THE SHAWNEE MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL,
May 30, 1843.

REV. DAVID GREENE,
Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR SIR: You will be surprised to see that we are not yet started. Lieutenant Fremont left this morning. The emigrants have some of them just gone and others have been gone a week and some are yet coming on. I shall start to-morrow. I regret I could not have spent some of the time spent here in suspense, with my friends at the East.

I have only a lad of thirteen, my nephew, with me. I take him to have some one to stay with Mrs. Whitman. I cannot give you much of an account of the emigrants until we get on the road. It is said that there are over two hundred men besides women and children. They look like a fair representative of a country population. Few, I conclude, are pious. Fremont intends to return by land so as to be back early in winter. Should he succeed in doing so we may be able to send you an account of the Mission and country at that time. We do not ask you to become the patrons of emigration to Oregon, but we desire you to use your influence that, in connection with all the influx into the country, there may be a fair proportion of good men of our own denomination who shall avail themselves of the advantages of the country in common with others. Also that ministers should come out as citizens or under the Home Missionary Society. We think agents of the Board and of the Home Missionary Society, as also ministers and good men in general, may do much to send a share of good, pious people to that country. We cannot feel it to be at all just that we do nothing, while worldly men and Papists are doing so much. De Smet's business to Europe can be seen, I think, at the top of the 233 page of his Indian Sketches, etc. You will see by his book, I think, that the papal effort is designed to convey over the country to the English. I mentioned in my former letter that it would be well for you to buy this book. It is to be had at the Catholic book stores.

I wish to say a few words about manufactures in Oregon, that I may remove an impression that they cannot compete with the English. First, let us take the operatives and the raw material from the Pacific Islands. It matters not at how much labor the Islander cleans the cotton, for it gives him employment and for that he gets goods, and then for his coffee and sugar and salt and cotton, etc., etc., he gets goods also. This is all an exchange trade that only a population and manufacturers in Oregon can take advantage of, because they alone will want the articles of exchange which the Islander can give. The same will hold good in relation to Indians whenever they shall have sheep, and I intend to try and have the Government give them sheep instead of money, a result not likely to be delayed long. A good man or company can now select the best mill sites and spots, and likely would find a sawmill profitable at once. I think our greatest hope for having Oregon at least part Protestant now lies in encouraging a proper intention of good men to go there while the country is open. I want to call your attention to the operation of Farnham of Salem and the Bensons of New York in Oregon. I am told credibly that secretly Government aids them with the secret service fund. Captain Howard of Maine is also in expectation of being employed by Government to take out emigrants by ship should the Oregon bill pass. You will find the addresses of Farnham and Bensons by a little inquiry and likely other facts may appear.

I hope you will send out the minister for our mission next year, also that others may come as citizens either to be employed by the mission, or to settle near us as may be agreed and as may be best after full understanding and they have opportunity to judge. I expect to draw a bill for a few dollars over a hundred to complete my outfit and pay off some arrears for the Spaniard who came in with me.

With best regard and desire fully to exercise a spirit of co-operation,

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

3

LETTER FROM DR. WHITMAN AFTER HIS RETURN TO OREGON

FORT WALLA WALLA, November 1, 1843.

REV. DAVID GREENE,
Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.,
Mission House, Boston.

MY DEAR SIR: I cannot at this moment say very much, as the Company's express boats are looked for hourly.

My journey across the mountains was very much prolonged by the necessity for me to pilot the emigrants. I tried in vain to come ahead at different points, but found it would be at the risk of the disaster to the emigrants of having to leave their wagons without the possibility of obtaining a sufficient number of horses to take any considerable part of their families and necessary food and clothing. By taking a light horse wagon I was enabled to come ahead from Fort Boisé. At the Grande Ronde, east of the Blue Mountains, I met a letter from Mr. Walker written at Lapwai urging me to come with speed to see Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, who were both in a dangerous state of sickness.

At this point I engaged one of the Waiilatpu (Stickus [1]) to complete the piloting of the company across the Blue Mountains into the main Columbia valley, which he did in a most judicious and faithful manner, and I hired a fresh horse and guide and went direct to Mr. Spalding's. I arrived on Monday evening, 25th September. I found both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding in a fair way to recover, but Mrs. Spalding showed that few ever recover from as low a state as that to which she had been reduced. At the time I was there both their children were taken with the same disease of which it appears their parents were sick (Scarlatina). After a severe sickness all recovered, but I fear from recent letters from Mr. Spalding and from the fact of Mrs. Spalding's having had a cough for the last year that she is just tending to a pulmonary consumption. Mr. Walker was there and Mr. Geiger also, who was in charge at Waiilatpu, had been sent for. I did not stay but one night and then returned with Mr. Geiger to Waiilatpu,

[1] Dr. Eells called his name "Istikas."

which had been left in the care of one Indian only; the wheat being in chaff and out of doors and part of the corn to be gathered by them also. In the meantime some of the advance parties of the emigrants on horseback had reached and broke open the house and left it open to the Indians, although wheat, corn, potatoes, garden vegetables, hogs and cattle were in abundance outside. After one day's rest I went to Tshimakain to attend Mrs. Eells, who had the addition of a son on the sixth of October. I left for home the same day and rested the Sabbath and reached home on Tuesday the ninth about eight o'clock in the evening.

In the meantime a large part of the emigrants had passed my house with their wagons. All came in their turns and were supplied with provisions. I soon put a small pair of (hand) mill stones running by water, so that the latter part of the emigration got grinding done. My wheat, beef, and most of my hogs and corn and many of my potatoes have been furnished them. Lieutenant Fremont's party have come last of all and are still to be supplied, for which and much of my own living I shall be obliged to call on Mr. Spalding. Mr. Geiger was alone most of the year with the Indians. Few could have done better. I have dismissed him and settled at thirty dollars for a month. I have been at Waskopum, the station near the Dalles of the Methodist Mission, after Mrs. Whitman, whom I have brought thus far on our way home. Mr. Jason Lee was there and had provided her with a passage to that place from the Wallamette, where she had spent some time. Mr. Lee was in a most interesting religious state of mind. He had just come from a series of religious meetings among the settlers of the Wallamette, wherein they had been greatly blessed by the conversion of many of the most hardened and the reclamation of backslidden professors. He is in no way discouraged himself, but says if any of their mission have made up their minds to leave he will encourage them to go home as soon as possible. I think great good is doing by them among the settlers. Mr. Clark also has a prosperous church, but Mr. Griffin seems to be doing little or no good.

Mrs. Whitman's health has been poor for the last year, but from the care of Doctor Barclay at Vancouver (principally), and Doctors Tohmie, White and Babcock, she is somewhat relieved but not recovered. The Indians have succeeded well in cultivating and never treated me and the

mission better than at present. The Waiilatpu have also been most kind to the emigrants, notwithstanding the excitement of last winter and spring. Some of the Indians between this post and the Dalles have been very thievish and saucy to the emigrants. They are, however, of the poorest, lowest and least formidable class of Indians.

Lieutenant Fremont has gone below to Vancouver with the intention to return by the fifteenth instant and make his way at once back by the head of the Missouri to the States this fall and winter, in which case I shall write by him; but it seems to me he may still charter a small American brig which is in the river below and go down to Panama and cross the Isthmus and from thence reach the United States. The prospective help of the mission this year is one man, hired by Mr. Spalding, and one man and family and a school teacher, whom I have selected from the emigrants and sent to that station. At Waiilatpu I expect Mr. Littlejohn will take the land now in cultivation on shares, the station to keep the fences in repair and furnish seed, tools and team, and receive two thirds of the crop. There are two other families who stop with us for the winter to whom I intend to give employment by the job in cutting and splitting rails, making fences and breaking new land. We have not found any yet to go and assist Mr. Walker or Eells, but hope we shall be able to do so soon. We hope you will be able to send us a minister for Waiilatpu who will be an able, warm-hearted minister for the English language, and well fitted to come in contact with frontier men such as are likely to come from Missouri, Arkansas and other western or southern states. This must be in addition to his native instructions and qualifications to come in contact with Papacy. It is asking but little to request two ministers for this language, for in case of the removal or death of Mr. Spalding or myself the knowledge of the language would be limited to so few that little could be done. The Indians where Mr. Smith was want a missionary. You will do as you think best about encouraging laborers and teachers to come as emigrants and labor a time for the mission. There can be no doubt but settlers will settle in this upper country, and what we very much want is good men to settle, two, three or four in a place, and secure a good location and hold a good influence over the Indians and sustain religious institutions as a nucleus for society and

keep back papacy. Through your agents an influence to favor this could go through New England and New York without at all becoming a source of sectarian jealousy or exciting the papists to greater effort. It may be said without fear of disappointing the emigrant from these states, that in the middle mission of Oregon by the herding system he can keep the year round one thousand sheep as cheaply and easily as he can keep one hundred where he now lives.

The Home Missionary Society ought to be called on to care for Oregon, the Methodists will gather all the first fruits of the settlements, and Congregationalists and Presbyterians will all as of necessity look to them for religious institutions. An early provision ought to be made for schools in this country. Unless the Board gets a special grant of the land the mission occupies, it will be likely to be taken from the mission by pre-emption whenever Congress takes possession of the country and grants land to settlers. I regret much that I was obliged so soon to return to this country, but nothing was more evidently my duty. Great inconvenience has occurred and expense by my absence as well as my expense, yet I do not regret having visited the States, for I feel that this country must either be American or else foreign and mostly papal. *If I never do more than to have been one of the first to take white women across the mountains and prevent the disaster and reaction which would have occurred by the breaking up of the present emigration, and establishing the first wagon road across to the border of the Columbia River I am satisfied.* I cannot feel that we can look on and see foreign and papal influence making its greatest efforts and we hold ourselves as expatriated and neutral. I am determined to exert myself for my country and to procure such regulations and laws as will best secure both the Indians and white men in their transit and settlement intercourse. Mr. Spalding thinks a good work of grace was bestowed on the Indians of his station last winter and he admitted a considerable number to the church. He has expressed a much better state of feeling towards the members of the mission and the Board since his sickness, the reception of your letter and my return, than ever before.

With best regard and fullest confidence,

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

4

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF REV. MARCUS WHITMAN DATED WAIILATPU, APRIL 8, 1844

. . . A congregation of from two to three hundred have been in attendance on the Sabbath since some time in February, besides many more who come and go and have more or less opportunity of instruction. There is nothing especially different in their attention upon religious instruction from formerly, further than an evident gradual increase in knowledge. I think there is less evidence of regard to Papal forms than formerly, notwithstanding an apparent desire on the part of some to try and make use of the difference between us to enable them to secure some selfish purpose. Some most arch grievances were brought against our course, which were based on the authority of Tom Hill, a Delaware Indian who is now in the mountains with the Nez Perces and Flathead Indians, but finding it difficult to maintain the position on such authority the individual said: "My friend, it is not Tom Hill only that says so, the Papal priests also say the same thing." The Indians say they are told that we ought to expend more liberally on them and that it is peculiarly our duty to do so. That we do not give goods for nothing and give large prices for all we get of them and break their lands for nothing. These are among their greatest grievances. They complain that they have been obliged to teach us their language and we have not taught them ours in turn. They have always, however, caused themselves to be paid for teaching us language and even then a teacher has been hard to obtain and keep. From their manner of speaking it would seem there were those who teach them to use as an apology for their foolishness and sin, that it cannot be expected so long as they are taught only in their own language, wear their usual clothing with long hair and have not regular houses to live in, that they could be changed from their old habits. All these they would fain think come in the legitimate line of our duty to provide for them by expending for their benefit. It seems to be a legitimate object with them to throw every possible difficulty in the way to benefit them and then to blame us for not having done for them all that was neces-

sary to make them not only civilized, but rich and enlightened as it were without their own effort.

Some of the emigrants wintered with us, and Mr. Looney was anxious to stay until June or September, if he could either get work in breaking land for the Indians and take his pay in horses, or if he could get land to plant for himself in peace. But they would not pay for breaking land, inasmuch as it was *their own land*, and their jealousy would not permit him to plant for himself as they fear that the Americans are going to overrun the country. They also forbid me to break a new field, as I desired lest I should make money out of their lands by supplying emigrants. They probably have a desire so far as they can to engross the profits of supplying the emigration themselves and do not wish to have competition. Last fall they must have done much more towards it than the mission, as almost the entire party had to be furnished by them and the mission for the remainder of their journey to Vancouver and Willamette, and also Lieutenant Fremont and his party. The Indians say they have been told by the Papists not to be afraid that we should leave them by their pressing us, but if we should be vexed to remove, to be calm and see us go off, having only the feeling that they are going; that Mr. Spalding and myself were not all the Americans in the world, and that more and better would come to supply our place. One of them told me that Mr. Blanchet told him if they would send me away he would send a mission among them. I tell them all plainly that I do not refuse to go away if they prefer the Papists to us, and urge them to decide if they wished me to do so, but that I should not go except at the full expression of the people, desiring me so to do. None of them as yet have been found to express such a desire. They are told all that the Delawares, Shawnees, and Iroquois know of the intercourse of Americans and Indians, as well as much more equally bad from other sources, so that their expectations are great with regard to the sale of their lands, a thing they are not opposed to do, but wish to drive a bargain. It is not strange at such a time that they are agitated.

They are very anxious to establish claims to particular tracts among themselves, which causes them to drive one and another off from their cultivated spots and which I have no doubt, is a step to prepare to have individual claims

to sell to Americans. With all this there is less disposition to disturb and perplex than might be expected. I have no doubt but the intention is to manage peaceably towards the whites. It is important that you lay the case of the mission before Congress, and obtain a grant of land for each station, for if the bill passes giving land to settlers, the stations we occupy may at once be located from beneath us. Rev. Jason Lee has gone home mostly to obtain grants to their mission.

Perhaps in some way, as we have so eminently aided the Government by being among the first to cross the mountains and the first to bring white women over, and last but not least, as I brought the late emigration on to the shores of the Columbia with their wagons contrary to all former assertions of the impossibility of the route, we may be allowed the rights of private citizens, by taking lands in the country. As the tenor of our missionary operations is so uncertain it may be well for the Board, for us to exercise the rights of citizens, in case of the Government's occupying the country.

There have been several peculiar causes of agitation among the Indians the past year, such as the introduction of laws by Doctor White as Indian Agent in the name of the American Government. He represented himself as having power to settle all difficulties between whites and Indians and to send any person out of this Upper Country, including missionaries, in case they did not teach as they ought. This brought him to be the repository for all supposed grievance both civil and religious. It is in vain to urge that the Indians adopted the laws of themselves. The principal chief said, they would have preferred their own if left to their own choice. They have become a mere form, as there are none to execute them. They wish mostly to use them to establish complaints against white men rather than punish offenders of their own people. I have no confidence in two codes of laws for one country. If the Indians are not wise enough to either give laws to their own country, both for themselves and others, or to partake with the whites in the formation of them, they must submit to the laws of the immigration that comes among them as others do. For it is evident that there should be but one code for both the native and the settler in the country.

Last fall there was a difficulty between the Indians on

the Chutes River and some of the Snakes. Some of the people from that quarter having gone to trade with the Snake Indians were killed. A party headed by Walaptulikt, a Hains, went to avenge it, and killed several of the Snakes, returned, and danced the triumph of victory over their scalps. Two murders have since occurred. The first was the murder of a sorceress by Makai, the father of a young man that had died suddenly from the superstition that he was killed by her sorcery. The second, which took place in the immediate vicinity of this station, was by a relative of the sorceress, partly from the excitement of her death and partly from a desire to possess himself of some cattle left by one of the Indians that was killed by the Snakes, as mentioned above. Neither of these have been punished by the chiefs nor is there any prospect of its being done.

Mr. Spalding has had severe trials with regard to the action of the Indians in taking away the cultivated lands from Timothy, one of the church members. He is a fearless man to rebuke sin, and this gives him many enemies. But probably this is not all. His industry in cultivating has enabled him to have a surplus of grain to sell, which probably is a source of jealousy.

William Craig, a white man from the mountains, whose wife is a native, and a connection of Old James, the reputed owner of the valley in which Mr. Spalding's station is located, is living near the station, and has been for several years. He is said, both by Indians and others, to be the mover of the measure of the Indians to send Timothy off his land. He is busy in trying to excite the people against the laws as recommended by Doctor White, and also says much in favor of the Papists, a predilection of no long standing. The family with whom he is connected say that they are determined to obtain a Papal priest to come among them. The Indian with whom Mr. Smith had the difficulty at Hamiah, and of whom he complained so much, has shown both here and at Lapwai how much he regrets his leaving. He feels as though he made confession and recantation immediately, but that notwithstanding, Mr. Smith would go, and that ever since his heart has wept. All in that region are very anxious to have a missionary among them. Mr. Smith's teacher spoke of the hard labor required to instruct new missionaries in the language and

the length of time before they could be successful teachers. This he said in favor of cherishing those they have among them. He said he was afraid lest his people should be drawn away after the Papists, and also told me that the priest among the Flatheads had invited him to be baptized, as he was entitled to be considered a part of that tribe, not on the part of one of his parents only, but because he spoke the language also. He said to him, "No, I have been fearfully instructed in relation to baptism." He was also shown a cut in which Protestants were represented as persecuting Papists by death.

13th. Since writing the above a most barbarous murder occurred on the night of the 11th instant, a short distance from our door. The murdered was a sorcerer and became a prey to that superstition, being murdered by his intimate friends. A death having taken place in the family of a brother of the murderer, at a distance from this place, a messenger was sent to bring the news, and orders for the younger brothers to kill the sorcerer, which was promptly obeyed the same night. It was perpetrated in a public gambling scene and no one attempted to avert the blows, but all fled and left them to complete the work of death, which was done with a sword in the most shocking manner. The impress of this superstition is so strong that it seems impossible for us to make any impression on the native mind to disabuse them from the feeling that their friends are as literally killed by sorcery and with as much malice prepense as in any other case of actual murder. Hence the feeling of justice in killing them as condemned murderers; a practice which has descended from father to son.

An affair of much interest took place a short time since at the Falls of the Willamette between the settlers and some Indians of the Molala tribe. The Molalas speak the same language as the Hains, and are said to have been separated from them in their ancient wars with the Snakes. It was reported that Doctor White had offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the arrest of an Indian. With this understanding Mr. La Breten and a black man went to take him as he came from the opposite side of the river from the village. They came upon him only, his companions having separated from him a short distance. When he saw he was likely to be taken he drew a pistol and was making ready to defend himself when La Breten told the black

man to fire, which was promptly obeyed and the Indian fell, but in a moment rose, not being hurt, and discharged one pistol at the colored man and missed him, and then with another closed in with La Breten and at the same time discharged the contents into his hand so as to pass up the arm and destroy the elbow joint. With the other hand he got the Indian down and the colored man forced the britch of his rifle through the skull. At this the other Indians commenced firing with their guns and arrows as they went off. The people flew to their houses for their arms at the same time and returned the fire with some effect. La Breten was taken to Vancouver, but in such a state that amputation was not attempted and he died; as also did Mr. Rogers, who was wounded as was supposed but slightly with an arrow, but whose case becoming alarming also went to Vancouver, and died with the arrow point still in his arm, as was demonstrated after death.

So early an eruption is greatly to be deplored, inasmuch as the white settlements are now so considerable, and yet illy prepared for self-defense. It is the more to be feared, lest the Hains and Molalas, who are so alike in their daring habits, should form an alliance, which by their influence might result in a general concert among the Indians.

I am now in a most cramped state, as I am lame myself and labor is most difficult to be obtained, for the wages on the Willamette are from one dollar to a dollar and half per day for common labor. My nephew bids fair to be of great service, as it is most important to have some one on whom I can rely when called from home and also at other times. Mr. Littlejohn and family are here, but his health is such that he cannot be relied upon for work. During the winter Mrs. L—— taught school one quarter for our children and those that wintered near us. We maintained English worship also on the Sabbath, and at least once a week all winter, a practice we always keep up even if we have only our own family.

A mill is most important to us here, but I do not see how I can accomplish it as the labor of mechanics must be paid at the rate of three dollars per day to begin with, starting from the Willamette and continuing until they return again.

I think this valley will be among the first to be settled by Americans. It is a most difficult point to manage such

a people preparatory to settlers, for if we tell them what is very much needed to induce them to proper care and industry it will be perverted and result in nothing good for them.

The wants of an emigration must be supplied at this point. It was my desire to aid the Indians to cultivate largely for that purpose, but as they are unwilling to pay for lands to be broken for them it cannot be facilitated. The result in my opinion will be to hasten a settlement somewhere in this vicinity for that object.

I have exceeded the limits first proposed, as a later opportunity to send and overtake the first express has offered.

With much esteem, I am yours truly,

(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

5

DR. WHITMAN'S LETTER TO THE HON. JAMES M. PORTER, SECRETARY OF WAR, WITH A BILL TO BE LAID BEFORE CONGRESS, FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF OREGON

Dr. S. J. Parker obtained from the original files in the office of the Secretary of War two valuable papers. They bear this indorsement:

"Marcus Whitman, inclosing synopsis of a bill, with his views in reference to importance of the Oregon Territory, War. 382—rec. June 22, 1844."

To the Hon. JAMES M. PORTER,
Secretary of War.

SIR: In compliance with the request you did me the honor to make last winter, while in Washington, I herewith transmit to you the synopsis of a bill which, if it could be adopted, would, according to my experience and observation, prove highly conducive to the best interests of the United States generally, to Oregon, where I have resided for more than seven years as a missionary, and to the Indian tribes that inhabit the immediate country. The Government will now doubtless for the first time be apprised

through you, or by means of this communication, of the immense immigration of families to Oregon which has taken place this year. I have, since our interview, been instrumental in piloting across the route described in the accompanying bill, and which is the only eligible wagon road, no less than three hundred families, consisting of one thousand persons of both sexes, with their wagons, amounting to one hundred and twenty, six hundred and ninety-four oxen, and seven hundred and seventy-three loose cattle.

The emigrants are from different States, but principally from Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois and New York. The majority of them are farmers, lured by the prospect of bounty in lands, by the reported fertility of the soil, and by the desire to be first among those who are planting our institutions on the Pacific Coast. Among them are artisans of every trade, comprising, with farmers, the very best material for a new colony. As pioneers, these people have undergone incredible hardships, and having now safely passed the Blue Mountain Range with their wagons and effects, have established a durable road from Missouri to Oregon, which will serve to mark permanently the route for larger numbers, each succeeding year, while they have practically demonstrated that wagons drawn by horses or oxen can cross the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, contrary to all the sinister assertions of all those who pretended it to be impossible.

In their slow progress, these persons have encountered, as in all former instances, and as all succeeding emigrants must, if this or some similar bill be not passed by Congress, the continual fear of Indian aggression, the actual loss through them of horses, cattle and other property, and the great labor of transporting an adequate amount of provision for so long a journey. The bill herewith proposed would, in a great measure, lessen these inconveniences by the establishment of posts, which, while having the possessed power to keep the Indians in check, thus doing away with the necessity of military vigilance on the part of the traveler by day and night, would be able to furnish them in transit with fresh supplies of provisions, diminishing the original burdens of the emigrants, and finding thus a ready and profitable market for their produce—a market that would, in my opinion, more than suffice to defray all the current expenses of such posts. The present party is supposed to

have expended no less than $2000 at Laramie's and Bridger's Forts, and as much more at Fort Hall and Fort Boisé, two of the Hudson Bay Company's stations. These are at present the only stopping-places in a journey of 2200 miles, and the only place where additional supplies can be obtained, even at the enormous rate of charge called mountain prices, i. e., $50 the hundred for flour, and $50 the hundred for coffee; the same for sugar, powder, etc.

Many cases of sickness and some deaths took place among those who accomplished the journey this season, owing in a great measure to the uninterrupted use of meat, salt and fresh, with flour, which constituted the chief articles of food they are able to convey on their wagons, and this could be obviated by the vegetable productions which the posts in contemplation could very profitably afford them. Those who rely on hunting as an auxiliary support, are at present unable to have their arms repaired when out of order; horses and oxen become tender-footed and require to be shod on this long journey, sometimes repeatedly, and the wagons repaired in a variety of ways. I mention these as valuable incidents to the proposed measure, as it will also be found to tend in many other incidental ways to benefit the migratory population of the United States choosing to take this direction, and on these accounts, as well as for the immediate use of the posts themselves, they ought to be provided with the necessary shops and mechanics, which would at the same time exhibit the several branches of civilized art to the Indians.

The outlay in the first instance would be but trifling. Forts like those of the Hudson Bay Company's surrounded by walls enclosing all the buildings, and constructed almost entirely of adobe, or sun-dried bricks, with stone foundations only, can be easily and cheaply erected.

There are very eligible places for as many of these as the Government will find necessary, at suitable distances, not further than one or two hundred miles apart, at the main crossing of the principal streams that now form impediments to the journey, and consequently well supplied with water, having alluvial bottom-lands of a rich quality, and generally well wooded. If I might be allowed to suggest the best sites for said posts, my personal knowledge and observation enable me to recommend first, the main crossing of the Kansas River, where a ferry would be very con-

venient to the traveler, and profitable to the station having it in charge; next, and about eighty miles distant, the crossing of Blue River, where in times of unusual freshet, a ferry would be in like manner useful; next, and distant from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from the last mentioned, the Little Blue, or Republican Fork of the Kansas; next, and from sixty to one hundred miles distant from the last mentioned, the point of intersection of the Platte River; next, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles distant from the last mentioned, crossing the South Fork of the Platte River; next, and about one hundred and eighty or two hundred miles distant from the last mentioned, Horseshoe Creek, which is about forty miles west of Laramie's Fork in the Black Hills. Here is a fine Creek for mills and irrigation, good land for cultivation, fine pasturage, timber and stone for building. Other locations may be had along the Platte and Sweetwater, on the Green River, or Black Forks of the Bear River, near the great Soda Springs, near Fort Hall, and at suitable places down the Columbia. These localities are all of the best description, so situated as to hold a ready intercourse with the Indians in their passages to and from the ordinary buffalo hunting grounds, and in themselves so well situated in all other respects as to be desirable to private enterprise if the usual advantage of trade existed. Any of the farms above indicated would be deemed extremely valuable in the States.

The Government cannot long overlook the importance of superintending the savages that endanger this line of travel, and that are not yet in treaty with it. Some of these are already well known to be led by desperate white men and mongrels, who form bandits in the most difficult passes, and are at all times ready to cut off some lagging emigrant in the rear of the party, or some adventurous one who may proceed a few miles in advance, or at night to make a descent upon the sleeping camp and carry away or kill horses and cattle. This is the case even now in the commencement of our western immigration, and when it comes to be more generally known that large quantities of valuable property and considerable sums of money are yearly carried over this desolate region, it is feared that an organized banditti will be instituted. The posts in contemplation would effectually counteract this. For the purpose they

need not, or ought not, to be military establishments. The trading posts in this country have never been of such a character, and yet with very few men in them, have for years kept the surrounding Indians in the most pacific disposition, so that the traveler feels secure from molestation upon approaching Fort Laramie, Bridger's Fort, Fort Hall, etc., etc. The same can be obtained without any considerable expenditure by the Government, while by investing the officers in charge with competent authority, all evil-disposed white men, refugees from justice, or discharged vagabonds from trading posts might be easily removed from among the Indians and sent to the appropriate States for trial. The Hudson's Bay Company's system of rewards among the savages would soon enable the posts to root out these desperadoes. A direct and friendly intercourse with all the tribes, even to the Pacific, might be thus maintained; the Government would become more intimately acquainted with them, and they with the Government, and instead of sending to the State courts a manifestly guilty Indian to be arraigned before a distant tribunal and acquitted for the want of testimony, by the technicalities of lawyers and of the law unknown to them, and sent back into the wilderness loaded with presents, as an inducement to further crime, the post should be enabled to execute summary justice, as if the criminal had been already condemned by his tribe, because the tribe will be sure to deliver up none but the party whom they know to be guilty. They will in that way receive the trial of their peers, and secure within themselves to all intents and purposes, if not technically the trial by jury, yet the spirit of that trial. There are many powers which ought to reside in some person on this extended route for the convenience and even necessity of the public.

In this the emigrant and the people of Oregon are no more interested than the resident inhabitant of the States. At present no person is authorized to administer an oath, or legally attest a fact, from the western line of Missouri to the Pacific. The immigrant cannot dispose of his property at home, although an opportunity ever so advantageous to him should occur after he passes the western border of Missouri. No one can here make a legal demand and protest of a promissory note or bill of exchange. No one can secure the valuable testimony of a mountaineer, or an immigrating witness after he has entered this, at present, law-

less country. Causes do exist and will continually arise, in which the private rights of citizens are, and will be, seriously prejudiced by such an utter absence of legal authority. A contraband trade from Mexico, the introduction from that country of liquors to be sold among the Indians west of the Kansas River, is already carried on with the mountain trappers, and very soon the teas, silks, nankeen, spices, camphor, and opium of the East Indies will find their way, duty free, through Oregon, across the mountains and into the States, unless Custom House officers along this line find an interest in intercepting them.

Your familiarity with the Government policy, duties and interest render it unnecessary for me to more than hint at the several objects intended by the enclosed bill, and any enlargement upon the topics here suggested as inducements to its adoption would be quite superfluous, if not impertinent. The very existence of such a system as the one above recommended suggests the utility of post-offices and mail arrangements, which it is the wish of all who now live in Oregon to have granted them; and I need only add that contracts for this purpose will be readily taken at reasonable rates for transporting the mail across from Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia in forty days, with fresh horses at each of the contemplated posts. The ruling policy proposed regards the Indians as the police of the country, who are to be relied upon to keep the peace, not only for themselves, but to repel lawless white men and prevent banditti, under the solitary guidance of the superintendents of the several posts, aided by a well directed system to induce the punishment of crime. It will only be after the failure of these means to procure the delivery or punishment of violent, lawless and savage acts of aggression, that a band or tribe should be regarded as conspirators against the peace, or punished accordingly by force of arms.

Hoping that these suggestions may meet your approbation, and conduce to the future interest of our growing country, I have the honor to be, Honorable Sir,

Your obedient servant,

MARCUS WHITMAN.

COPY OF PROPOSED BILL PREPARED BY DR. MARCUS WHITMAN IN 1843 AND SENT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

A bill to promote safe intercourse with the Territory of Oregon, to suppress violent acts of aggression on the part of certain Indian tribes west of the Indian Territory, Neocho, better protect the revenue, for the transportation of the mail and for other purposes.

Synopsis of the Act

SECTION 1. To be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that from and after the passage of this act, there shall be established at suitable distances, and in convenient and proper places, to be selected by the President, a chain of agricultural posts or farming stations, extending at intervals from the present and most usual crossing of the Kansas River, west of the western boundary of the state of Missouri, thence ascending the Platte River on the southern border, thence through the valley of the Sweetwater to Fort Hall, and thence to settlements of the Willamette in the Territory of Oregon. Which said posts will have for their object to set examples of civilized industry to the several Indian tribes, to keep them in proper subjection to the laws of the United States, to suppress violent and lawless acts along the said line of the frontier, to facilitate the passage of troops and munitions of war into and out of the said Territory of Oregon, and the transportation of the mail as hereinafter provided.

SECTION 2. And be it further enacted, that there shall reside at each of said posts, one superintendent having charge thereof, with full power to carry into effect the provisions of this act, subject always to such instructions as the President may impose; one deputy superintendent to act in like manner in case of death, removal or absence of the superintendent, and such artificers and laborers, not exceeding twenty in number, as the said superintendent may deem necessary for the conduct and safety of said posts, all of whom shall be subject to disappointment and liable to removal.

SECTION 3. And be it further enacted, that it shall be the duty of the President to cause to be erected, at each of the said posts, buildings suitable for the purpose herein contemplated: to wit, one main dwelling house, one storehouse, one blacksmith's and one gunsmith's shop, one carpenter shop, with such and so many other buildings for storing the products and supplies of said posts as he from time to time may deem expedient. To supply the same with all necessary mechanical and agricultural implements, to perform the labor incident thereto, and with all other articles he may judge requisite and proper for the safety, comfort and defense thereof.

To cause said posts in his discretion to be visited by detachments of the troops stationed on the western frontier, to suppress through said posts the sale of munitions of war to the Indian tribes in case of hostilities, and annually to lay before Congress, at its general session, full returns, verified by the oaths of the several superintendents, of the several acts by them performed and of the condition of said posts, with the income and expenditures growing out of the same respectively.

SECTION 4. And be it further enacted, that the said superintendents shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate for the term of four years, with a salary of two hundred dollars payable out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; that they shall respectively take an oath before the District Judge of the United States for the Western District of Missouri, faithfully to discharge the duties imposed on them in and by the provisions of this act, and give a bond to the President of the United States and to his successors in office and assigns, and with sufficient security to be approved by the said judge in at least the penalty of twenty-five thousand dollars, to indemnify the President or his successors or assigns for any unlawful acts by them performed, or injuries committed by virtue of their offices, which said bonds may at any time be assigned for prosecution against the said respective superintendents and their sureties upon an application to the said judge at the instance of the United States District Attorney or of any private party aggrieved.

SECTION 5. And be it further enacted, that it shall be the duty of said superintendents to cause the soil adjacent to

said posts, in extent not exceeding 640 acres, to be cultivated in a farmer-like manner and to produce such articles of culture as in their judgment shall be deemed the most profitable and available for the maintenance of said posts, for the supply of troops and other Government agents which may from time to time resort thereto, and to render the products aforesaid adequate to defraying all the expenses of labor in and about said posts, and the salary of the said deputy superintendent, without resort to the Treasury of the United States, remitting to the Secretary of the Treasury yearly a sworn statement of the same, with the surplus moneys, if any, there shall be.

SECTION 6. And be it further enacted, that the said several superintendents of posts shall, ex officio, be superintendents of Indian affairs west of the Indian Territory, Neocho, subordinate to and under the full control of the Commissioner-General of Indian Affairs at Washington. That they shall, by virtue of their offices, be conservators of the peace, with full powers to the extent hereinafter prescribed, in all cases of crimes and misdemeanors, whether committed by citizens of the United States or by Indians within the frontier line aforesaid. That they shall have power to administer oaths, to be valid in the several courts of the United States, to perpetuate testimony to be used in said courts, to take acknowledgments of deeds and other specialties in writing, to take probate wills and testaments executed upon the said frontier, of which the testators shall have died in transit between the State of Missouri and the Territory of Oregon, and to do and certify all notarial acts, and to perform the ceremony of marriage, with as legal effects as if the said several acts above enumerated had been performed by the magistrates of any of the States having power to perform the service. That they shall have power to arrest and remove from the line aforesaid all disorderly white persons, and all persons exciting the Indians to hostilities, and to surrender up all fugitives from justice upon the requisition of the Governor of any of the States; that they shall have power to demand of the several tribes within the said frontier line, the surrender of any Indian or Indians committing acts in contradiction of the laws of the United States, and in case of such surrender, to inflict punishment thereon, according to the tenor and effect of said laws, without further trial, presuming such offending

Indian or Indians to have received the trial and condemnation of the tribe to which he or they may belong; to intercept and seize all articles of contraband trade, whether introduced into their jurisdiction in violation of the acts imposing duties on imports, or of the acts to regulate trade and intercourse with the several Indian tribes, to transmit the same to the marshal of the Western District of Missouri, together with the proofs necessary for the confiscation thereof, and in every such case the superintendent shall be entitled to receive one half the sale value of the said confiscated articles, and the other half be disposed of as in like cases arising under the existing revenue laws.

SECTION 7. And be it further enacted, that the several superintendents shall have and keep at their several posts, seals of office for the legal authentication of their public acts herein enumerated, and that the said seals shall have as a device the spread-eagle, with the words, "U. S. Superintendency of the Frontier," engraved thereon.

SECTION 8. And be it further enacted, that the said Superintendents shall be entitled in addition to the salary hereinbefore granted, to the following perquisites and fees of office, to wit: For the acknowledgment of all deeds and specialties, the sum of one dollar; for the administration of all oaths, twenty-five cents; for the authentication of all copies of written instruments, one dollar; for the perpetuation of all testimony to be used in the United States courts, by the folio, fifty cents; for all other writing done, by the folio, fifty cents; for the solemnizing marriages, two dollars, including the certificate to be given to the parties; for the surrender of fugitives from justice, in addition to the necessary costs and expenses of arrest and detention, which shall be verified to the demanding Governor by the affidavit of the Superintendent, ten dollars.

SECTION 9. And be it further enacted, that the said Superintendents shall by virtue of their offices, be postmasters at the several stations for which they were appointed, and as such, shall be required to facilitate the transportation of mail to and from the Territory of Oregon and the nearest post-offices within the State of Missouri, subject to all regulations of the Post-office Department, and with all the immunities and privileges of the postmasters in the several States, except that no additional compensation shall be allowed for such services; and it is hereby made

the duty of the Postmaster General to cause proposals to be issued for the transportation of the mail along the line of said Posts to and from said Territory within six months after the passage of this Act.

SECTION 10. And be it further enacted, that the sum of ———— thousand dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying into effect the several provisions of this Act.

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DR. WHITMAN'S LAST LETTER TO SECRETARY GREENE OF THE AMERICAN BOARD

WAIILATPU, October 18, 1847.

Rev. DAVID GREENE,
Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR SIR:

As Mr. Thomas Glenday of St. Charles, Missouri, is to leave here this morning for his return to the States, I cannot deny myself the privilege of writing. I have now been at home two Sabbaths only since my return from completing the wagon road from the Utilla to the Dalles. As my two wagons returned from the Dalles with loads I found it necessary to look out a new road to avoid the hills along the shore of the Columbia and the crossing of John Days River. I took my wagons back from the Columbia, crossing John Day's River higher up. By following a small stream and then a dry ravine I was enabled to avoid most of the hills and heavy obstacles to the old wagon road for the lower half of the way. After I came home I went a second time which took me near two weeks and completed the route from the Utilla to the place where I struck the old road before. Now the road does not strike the Columbia at all when it is designed to cross the Cascade Mountains by Bastow's road. This road takes them a much shorter and better route, by which means they avoid many bad hills as well as all the sands of the Columbia and, what is still more desirable, they have grass in abundance at all camps, the whole being a grass country. Wood is also

plenty with one or two exceptions. It passes also that the immigrants will avoid the Indians mostly who have given so much trouble along the shore of the Columbia. As I came up with my wagons I visited the Indians along the shore of the Columbia and took back property as I could find it that had been stolen. In fact in most cases they were in advance of me, as they knew I was coming, and would be waiting on the south side with the stolen goods ready to return them. Their lodges were on the north side at the time. I then thought no further acts of the sort you will see recorded in my communication to Congress, which I have sent in your care, would have been reported. I am assuring the Indians that, unless they either bestir themselves and take back the horses, cattle, and property stolen, and also take other horses from the thieves to pay for loss and insult, that the Americans will visit them next year before the immigrants come, not to make war upon them, but to obtain pay and satisfaction for their losses, and that most likely when they come, they will take horses to pay themselves for the trouble of coming to get their pay. And that in case they do come the innocent can only escape by pointing out the guilty. I will not report what Mr. Rodgers has written about the Papists further than that all are Jesuits who are to labor among the Indians.

A bishop is set over this part of the work, whose seat as the name indicates will be at Walla Walla. He, I understand, is styled Bishop of Walla Walla. It will be well for you to know that from what we can learn, their object will be to colonize around them. I cannot blame myself that the plan I laid down when I was in Boston was not carried out. If we could have had good families, say two and three together, to have placed in select spots among the Indians, the present crisis which I feared would not have come. Two things, and it is true those which were the most important, were accomplished by my return to the states. By means of the establishment of the wagon road, which is due to that effort alone, the immigration was secured and saved from disaster in the fall of forty-three. Upon that event the present acquired rights of the U. States by her citizens hung. And not less certain is it that upon the result of immigration to this country the present existence of this mission and of Protestantism in general hung also.

It is a matter of surprise to me that so few pious men are ready to associate together and come to this country when they could be so useful in setting up and maintaining religious society and establishing the means of education. It is indeed so that some of the good people of the East can come to Oregon for the double purpose of availing themselves of the Government bounty of land and of doing good to the country. Or do I lose my object in writing to you so often upon the subject? Is it a matter of regret to you and to the Pastors of morality to lose a few of the best ministers of society and church and business men that they may benefit both themselves and the cause of religion, education, and their country? It is not too late yet I hope. But I am sure if anything is done as it should be, that the people should come next year. The interior of Oregon is unrivaled by any country for grazing of stock, of which sheep are the best. This interior will now be sought after and I fear we are to have the half-breed and French population from the Willamette, as they show a disposition to sell out there and come here. It cannot be that we let them have the ascendency here. If we do you may well see what will be the consequence. My plan is for you to confer with the pastors and individuals in some way and lay the matter open before them. Let them be either a selection of men for the work or volunteers. Let them be of the best of pastors and church members, for it is a work that needs good men. Why will not the best men do good and benefit themselves as readily as worldly minded men? Why will pastors regret to select their best and wealthiest men to do good by their persons and their property and influence? Can a mind be found so narrow as not to be willing to part with a pastor, or a pastor not to part with a church member, simply because they are good men and useful where they are? I fear this is the feeling. And I remember a conversation I had with you which clearly showed that you knew that spirit prevailed to a considerable extent. I do believe ministers can be found who will lead out either good men for general distribution in the colony, as the wants of the colony shall be seen by them, or who will come out with those who will locate so as to make a religious society. One or more ought to be with the intent to found a College. I know of no place so eligible as at the Dalles close by our station. There a salubrious climate and near proximity to

market and the main settlement will be secured. A good school there would not want for support even now. And this might be the embryo for the intended College. Men and means might at once be found either united or separate, as the case shall demand. If this subject be laid before the several societies who meet next May in the several cities of the East, I do not believe that either the men or the means will be wanting at once. Persons might be found there, I have no doubt, who would either come themselves or who would go home and interest themselves that others should come. Those who intend to come should start so early next fall that they may be in time for putting in a crop if possible in the spring—'49. Should a part prefer to come by land they may start with pack horses as late as July or even August, when there will be far less annoyance on the road than earlier. They will avoid all mud, rains and high water. Most of the heat will be passed and by not being confined to the wagon road they will escape the dust. Pack horses also can find grass aside from when the wagons can feed. It is never too late to pass down the Columbia to the lower country. Besides there can be no want of provisions at the Dalles as long as there are any in the Willamette. So that they can winter there if they like. I prefer to call on you for the presentation of these matters to the Christian public in any way you prefer. If you do not do it in your own name please look out the man who will act and whose name will appear before the public, not forgetting the calls upon the Home Mission Society, Tract Society, etc. Mr. Glenday will be a good man to write to for any information about packing across the mountains. I hope the want of a man for Dalles station will not escape your notice.

With esteem, Yours truly,

(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

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MEMORIAL FROM DR. WHITMAN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, PREPARED SIX WEEKS BEFORE HIS DEATH

To the Honorable the Secretary of War.

To the Committees on Indian Affairs and Oregon in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States the following suggestions are respectfully submitted:

First. That all stations of the United States for troops be kept upon the border of some State or Territory, when designed for the protection and regulation of the Indian Territory.

Second. That a line of posts be established along the traveled route to Oregon at a distance, so far as practicable, of not more than fifty miles. That these posts be so located as to afford the best opportunity for agriculture and grazing, to facilitate the production of provisions and the care of horses and cattle for the use and support of said posts, and to furnish supplies to all passers through the Indian Territory, especially to mail carriers and troops.

These posts should be placed wherever a bridge or ferry would be required to facilitate the transport of the mail, and travel of troops or immigrants through the country. In all fertile places these posts would support themselves and give facilities for the several objects just named in transit. The other posts situated where the soil would not admit of cultivation, would still be useful, as they would afford the means of taking care and other facilities for transporting the mail.

These posts could be supplied with provisions from others in the vicinity. A few large posts in the more fertile regions could supply those more in the mountains. On the other hand military posts can only be well supplied when near the settlement. In this way all transports for the supply of the interior military posts would be superseded. The number of men at these posts might vary from five to twenty-five.

In the interior they might be built with *adobies* (that is, large unburnt bricks), and in form and size should much resemble the common Indian trading post with outer walls and bastions. They would thus afford the same protection, in any part of the Territory, as the common trading post. If provided with a small amount of goods to trade supplies from the Indians and to reward the chiefs for punishing those who disturb or offend against the peace of the Territory, the Indians would become the protectors of these stations. At the same time, by being under one general superintendent under the Government, the Indians may be concentrated under one general influence.

By such a superintendence the Indians will be prevented from fleeing from one place to another to secrete themselves

from justice. By this simple arrangement all the need of troops in the interior will be obviated, until in some instance the Indians fail to co-operate with the superintendent of the post or posts for the promotion of peace.

When troops shall be called for to visit the interior, the farming posts will be able to furnish them with supplies in passing so as to make their movements speedy and efficient. A code of laws for the Indian Territory might constitute the principal or second in charge at these posts, civil magistrates. The same arrangements would be equally well adapted to the respective routes to California and New Mexico.

Many reasons may be urged for the establishment of these posts among which are the following:

1. By means of such posts all acts of the Indians will be under a full and complete inspection. All cases of murder, theft, or other outrage would be brought to light and the proper punishment inflicted.

2. In most cases this may be done by giving the chiefs a small fee, that they may either punish the offenders themselves, or deliver them up to the commander of the posts. In such cases it should be held that their peers have adjudged them guilty.

3. By means of these posts it will become safe and easy for the smallest number to pass and repass from Oregon to the States. And with a civil magistrate in charge, all idle, wandering white men, without passports, can be sent out of the Territory.

4. In this way all banditti for robbing the mail or travelers will be prevented as well as all vagabonds removed from among the Indians.

5. Immigrants now lose horses and other stock by the Indians, commencing from the border of the States to the Wallamette. It is much to the praise of our countrymen that they bear so long with the Indians when our Government has done so little to enable them to pass in safety.

For one man to lose five or six horses is not a rare occurrence, which loss is felt heavily when most of the family are compelled to walk on foot to favor a reduced and failing team.

6. The Indians along the line take courage from the forbearance of the immigrants. The timid Indians on the Columbia have this year in open day attacked several parties

of wagons from two to seven, and robbed them, being armed with guns, bows and arrows, knives and axes. Mr. Glenday from St. Charles, Mo., the bearer of this communication to the States, with Mr. Bear, his companion, rescued seven wagons from being plundered and the people from gross insult, rescuing one woman when the Indians were in the act of taking all the clothes from her person. The men were mostly stripped of their shirts and pantaloons at the time.

7. The occasional supplies to passing immigrants as well as the aid which may be afforded to the sick and needy are not the least of the important results to follow from these establishments. A profitable exchange to the posts and immigrants, as also to other passers through the country, can be made by exchanging worn-out horses and cattle for fresh ones.

8. It scarcely need be mentioned what advantage the Government will derive from a similar exchange, for the transport of the mail as also for the use of troops in passing.

9. To suppress the use of ardent spirits among the Indians it will be requisite to regard the giving or furnishing of it in any manner as a breach of the laws and peace of the Territory. All superintendents of posts, traders and responsible persons should be charged on oath that they will not sell, give, or furnish in any manner, ardent spirits to the Indians.

10. Traders should be regarded, by reason of the license they have to trade in the Territory, as receiving a privilege, and therefore should be required to give and maintain good credentials of character. For this reason they may be required to send in the testimony of their clerks and assistants of all ranks to show under the solemnity of an oath that the laws have not been violated or evaded. If at any time it became apparent to the superintendent of any post that the laws were violated, he might be required to make full inquiry of all in any way connected with, or assisting in the trade, to ascertain whether the laws were broken or evaded.

11. For illicit traders and smugglers it will suffice to instruct the commanders of posts to offer a reward to the Indians for the safe delivery of any and all such persons as bring liquors among them, together with the liquors thus brought.

12. It is only on the borders of the respective States and Territories that any interruption will be found in the operation of these principles. Here also a modification of the same principle enacted by the several States and Territories along the Indian borders might produce equally happy results.

13. The mail may, with a change of horses at every fifty miles, be carried at the rate of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours.

14. The leading reason in favor of the aforesaid regulations should be that by these means the Indians become our faithful allies. In fact they will be the best possible police for such a Territory. This police can be safely relied upon when under a good supervision. Troops will only be required to correct their faults in cases of extreme misconduct.

15. In closing I would remark that I have conversed with many of the principal Fur Traders of the American and Hudson Bay Companies, all of whom agree that the several regulations suggested in this communication would accomplish the objects proposed, were suitable men appointed for its management and execution.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

WAIILATPU. October 16, 1847.

Rev. DAVID GREENE,
Secretary of A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR SIR:

Please send copies of the above to such members of Congress and other influential men as you think will favor the object proposed. Yours truly,
(Signed) MARCUS WHITMAN.

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LETTER FROM REV. CUSHING EELLS

TSHIMAKAIN, NEAR FORT COLVILE,
OREGON MISSION, December 10, 1847.

Rev. DAVID GREENE,
Secretary A. B. C. F. M.

DEAR SIR:

Last eve most painful intelligence reached us, and which I cannot better communicate than in the same form in which it came to us.

FORT WALLA WALLA, December 2, 1847.

MESSRS. WALKER AND EELLS.

MY DEAR GENTLEMEN :

Through the interposition of a kind providence I have been permitted to arrive here in safety, and you will with me think that God has been merciful in sparing my life.

It is my melancholy duty to inform you of one of the most tragic massacres on record in Oregon.

The following are the persons killed : Mr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rodgers, Hoffman, Sanders (schoolmaster), Mr. March, John and Francis Sager, two youth, brothers, Canfield, the blacksmith. Two families at the mill supposed to be killed, one of them known to be. This was committed on the 29th of last month by the Kayuse Indians. Some attribute the cause to the poisoning of the Indians, although there are many rumors ; and as I have been here only one half hour, and hearing so much, and having so little time, and from the excitement of running the gauntlet for two days myself, I am perfectly unnerved and bewildered. Solomon had been faithful to the last, may God bless him ! I am informed that a party of Indians started to Mr. Spalding's to complete their horrid butchery, also to the Dalls.

Mr. McBean has sent an express to Vancouver, requesting them to send up boats for such as may escape. I send your horse and mule back, and am too much excited even to thank you. You shall hear from me again. Give my love to your families. May God bless them is the sincere prayer. Yours most truly,

(Signed) J. M. STANLEY.

Mr. Stanley is an eminent artist, a portrait painter. His chief business, in traveling in this country, is to obtain the portraits of Indians. He first came to this place on the 24th of October last, and was the bearer of your favor of the 13th of November, 1846. I can here only say that the kind and instructive sentiments and sympathy therein expressed, sensibly affected me. Mr. Stanley remained here three or four days and then left for Colvile. On the 9th of November he returned. Excepting a few days in which he suffered from ill health, he was occupied in professional labors till the 23d ult. when he started for Waiilatpu, accompanied by one of our most faithful Indians to whom we early gave the name Solomon. On the eve of the 30th they encamped about twenty miles from Waiilatpu. The next morning they proceeded till within about six miles of their destination, where they met an Indian woman and boy who

informed of the singular deeds of treachery and blood which had been committed two days before at Waiilatpu. It was also added that Mr. Stanley would be immediately dispatched on arriving at the fatal spot. Providentially Solomon is one of the few among this people who understand a considerable part of the Nez Perces language. He inquired respecting Walla Walla and was told that all was quiet, and undisturbed there, that Americans only had been killed. From that point they turned toward the Fort, but were still upon a trail, and soon met another Indian with a gun in his belt. He confirmed the information already received, and then inquired whether or not Mr. Stanley were an American. Solomon in reply stated what was false lest the truth should endanger the life of his companion, said he kept his eye upon the gun, and had it been drawn from the belt he should have seized it at once. Soon after that they left the trail and kept back in the plain. That night they concealed themselves in the timber and thicket upon a creek and kindled no fire. The next day they proceeded with caution, avoiding trails and places where it might be expected there would be passing and reached the Fort in safety. It was early in the day when they arrived there and as there was nothing for horses to eat immediately about the Fort, Solomon left on the afternoon of the same day, and returned on the road to Waiilatpu some ten or twelve miles to an encampment of one of the H. B. Co.'s servants who was guarding horses. The wife of the horse keeper was a distant connection of Solomon. He remained at the place two nights for the animals to rest and graze. Excepting what is contained in Mr. Stanley's hastily written letter, all the information we have respecting this painfully interesting subject has been obtained from Solomon. Indian reports are often very incorrect. Almost all natives will exaggerate, and distort the truth, but I have confidence to believe that Solomon has endeavored to state to us pretty nearly as he received it from others. He says moreover that all the different individuals gave the same account. Or to give a more literal translation of his expression, "the speech of all went along in the same track."

First. As to the number who were actively engaged in committing the murders.

It was small. One chief, an old man, by name Tilankait, and those attached to him were the principal actors in the

bloody scenes. The greater part disapproved of the tragedy and perhaps of the purpose, if it was known. This appears in a measure probable from the fact that the woman and boy who first told of what had been done were Kayuses, and also that they took some pains to inform them that they might avoid danger.

2. As to the time.

It was early on Monday morning. The purpose was formed during Sabbath night, and the execution thereof commenced at the dawning of the day, and in a short time completed.

3. The cause.

This is hinted at in Mr. Stanley's letter. The Indian report is the following: A few days previous to the melancholy event Mr. Spalding came to Waiilatpu. Late in the evening, he, Mr. Spalding, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman had some conversation respecting the Kayuse Indians. The Doctor proposed to poison and kill them all, and give their country to Americans. Mr. Spalding assented to the plan. In the same room was lying a half-caste boy, supposed to be asleep, but was not asleep,—heard what was said, and communicated it to the Indians. Therefore they did as has been reported. Mr. Spalding had already left, and gone partly to carry medicine to a sick woman, the wife of a chief, by name Tauati, who was encamped upon a creek some twenty-five or thirty miles south of Waiilatpu.

With reference to the above report, at present I will only say that I am confident no reasonable, candid person, who has had much acquaintance with the deceased Dr. Whitman, will believe that in the full possession of his reason the Doctor ever cherished any such purpose as is pretended by the Indians. A spirit of benevolence, of kindness and compassion for the suffering, were prominent traits in his character. His labors during ten years for the benefit of the Kayuse Indians is strong proof against his wishing to injure them in the least. His zeal and perseverance to improve their social condition, and heal their sicknesses have been marked, also the success which has crowned his exertions. Should Mr. Spalding escape unharmed by the hands of violence, the whole truth respecting the reports as already given, also the real cause of the murders, will without doubt be clearly ascertained. I am of opinion that many things have conspired to bring to pass the fatal results. At present I forbear entering further into the subject.

At this place we are in a state of painful suspense and of distressing anxiety. It is said Tilankait gave orders to spare the children. In the mission family were seven girls under the age of fourteen years. What is the condition also of the women and perhaps other children who are supposed to be alive at the place? To human view it would be presumption for Mr. Walker or myself to attempt to afford them relief. I think it almost certain that no violence has been done to Mr. Spalding at the date of Mr. Stanley's letter, and so far as human calculations can determine it is most likely he will escape.

My prevailing belief is that our friends at Clear Water, also at the Dalls, are unharmed, that the burst of passion spent itself at and about Waiilatpu.

December 11th. At this station this has been observed as a day of humiliation and prayer in view of the afflictive and admonitory dispensations of Divine Providence towards this mission. The early part of the day was spent each by himself to "mourn apart." A little before noon our two families met and spent an hour or more in social religious worship. Soon after that service closed we went, according to previous appointment, to the meeting-house and conducted worship with the natives. There was a general attendance and fixed attention. Mr. Walker and myself, each made such remarks as the occasion seemed to require, and offered prayer. An opportunity was given for some of the principal men to speak. Two spoke and with a good deal of propriety.

Our people appear to sympathize with us — are sensible that they have met with a great loss. They speak kind words and endeavor to allay our fears respecting our personal safety, signify a readiness to stand between us and those who would harm us and to afford us all protection in their power. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of their professions, or their readiness to defend us for a short time, but they are too fickle to be trusted long. They are Indians, and will be likely to sympathize with all of their blood, murderers not excepted, should deserved punishment be inflicted upon them.

December 13th. I know not when I shall be able to forward this communication. Till such time shall arrive, if Providence permit, I will endeavor to note any incidents which may occur relative to the main subject of the letter.

This morning we started a messenger to Colvile to carry the intelligence of our affliction and to ask for counsel.

December 17. The courier whom we sent to Colvile returned last eve and delivered a full letter from John L. Lewes, Esq., addressed to Mr. Walker. I will transcribe a small part of its contents. "I most truly feel for you and those with you on the receipt of such horrid doings among your friends. You must have been in a dreadful state of excitement.

"You ask for my advice under the present alarming state of your affairs. This I will cordially give as far as I can. I see but one mode for you to adopt, if on certain intelligence, you learn that the Brutes are intent on following up their ideas of bloodshed, by adding you and those with you to their already long list of murders. Fly to this Establishment, one and all, without delay and I will do my best for your protection till we can find the means of conveying you all to Vancouver, or till times of peace return again, making it safe to return to your present abode. Be not backward in accepting this my offer, and on no account if you apprehend danger, defer your departure till too late. I shall not be able to afford you all the comfort and convenience of your own once happy home, but you may rely on a hearty welcome and we will make the best shift we can for the time being. As Jack Tar says, 'Any port in a storm.' Or if you prefer sending Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Eells and children here before you are finally obliged to quit yourselves, do so. And again I promise to do my best to supply and provide for them the needful. So soon and immediately that you receive any certain news of the Indians' intentions towards you, let me know. Send an Indian post with the intelligence."

With reference to our present situation I am not able to see that we are particularly exposed. To my mind there appears to be no substantial reason to apprehend immediate danger. Our only safety is in the Lord, and we feel this more sensibly now than ever before. At the same time we would not think lightly of human instrumentality or neglect a diligent and faithful use of means for the preservation of human life, and consecrated property. About half way between this place and Colvile is a small settlement of half-breeds. Unasked they have signified a readiness to come to our relief if needed.

Monday, 27. Some twenty or twenty-five miles up the Spokane River is a camp of Indians, consisting of between 150 and 200 souls. Yesterday two of the principal men from that place came here. I signified my regret that they came upon the Sabbath. In reply it was said their intention was to have come the day before but their horses were not found till Saturday night. To-day we have had a long talk. Several of our people here were present most of the time. The two from abroad said they had come on account of the late sad transactions at Waiilatpu ; but chiefly because they had heard Mr. Lewes had invited us to move to Colvile. They wished to persuade us to remain where we are, confident that there is no reason to apprehend danger at present. They wished to assure us of a readiness on their part and also of their people to afford us all the protection in their power, should the Kayuse Indians take any measures to injure us. What was said by all present was as agreeable as could be reasonably expected, though on the whole not very satisfactory. Near the close of the talk a remark was made among themselves which I am obliged to believe has a close connection with their willingness to defend us if necessary. It was substantially the following. The Kayuses have been considerably reduced in numbers by recent deaths. It would not be difficult for the Indians of this region so far to exterminate them as to be able to drive off large numbers of their horses and cattle.

To day an Indian was to start to go to Walla Walla with letters, but chiefly to obtain further intelligence. Through the influence of others he does not go. I have signified my dissatisfaction with such conduct. They talk but are slow to act.

Tuesday, January 4th, 1848. The Chief Cornelius is a day's ride from this place. He with his senior wife and another attendant, arrived here on the eve of Saturday, three days ago,—is blind in one eye, sees but indistinctly with the other, and is afflicted with almost constant pain in his head. Constant attention to his children for three successive days and nights during recent sickness greatly increased the difficulty in his head. He called on Mr. Walker soon after he came, said the sole cause of his visit to this place was the recent murder of our friends. On our account he had come, and wished to have a long talk. On the Sabbath he did not attend worship. The reason assigned for his

absence was indisposition. Yesterday he did in like manner and for the same reason. At the close of the public religious services yesterday Mr. Walker suggested the expediency of complying with the wishes of the chief, and with my concurrence invited him to our house for a formal consultation. He made some just remarks respecting the sin and folly of the Kayuse Indians, but the burden of a long speech was a history of their former wars, the influence of a few chiefs, and the agency himself had in promoting peace. On our part it was remarked that we are in a state of anxiety and of suspense. We are in the dark, and desirous to obtain more full information. That effort to obtain some one to go to Walla Walla had been ineffectual.

Friday, 7. This eve another talk has been held with Cornelius. It was not essentially different from the one on Monday except that near the close he made inquiries which, if I mistake not, implied that the mission property (of which it is known there was a large amount at Waiilatpu) is subject to our control and if recovered will be likely to be removed to this place. He also stated, as a remark which had been made to him, that too small pay had been offered to one who should go for us to Walla Walla.

Monday, 10. This morning while we were at breakfast an Indian in passing called, and gave rather indefinite information respecting intelligence which reached this place last eve. If I understand correctly the following is substantially the report:

From Walla Walla a Hawaiian was sent to Vancouver with intelligence of the late murders committed at Waiilatpu. On his way back he was intercepted by Indians a short distance above the Dalls, and asked for information. He refused to communicate, was taken and tied and told if he would inform them what had been done below he should be released, if not, be killed. He then said that the death of those killed at Waiilatpu had been revenged by killing all the Indians from the upper country who had gone below. The brains of the Hawaiian were then beat out with a stone, and he was thrown into the river. The correctness of the report is very improbable, and the more sober of those about us say there is no reason to credit it, still there are not wanting those who would willingly believe it so that they might have an excuse to gratify their savage passions, their thirst to murder and plunder.

Soon after breakfast the chief and three others came in and remained till noon. They profess to believe that the life of the mission families at this place is in danger on account of the report now flying through the country. They apprehend no open or general attack, but fear the treachery of the assassin. The same lips that heretofore have confidently asserted there was no danger, now express much concern for us. But whatever may be the danger here or in our present situation it will be greatly increased in making any immediate change. Up to this date my mind has generally been tranquil with reference to the personal safety of our families. But to-day my thoughts and feelings are disturbed. On the first hearing of the report it appeared to me alarming, not that I believe it to be true but from what I feared might be the effect upon a certain class of Indians. To human appearance our life is in jeopardy and we cannot flee. Our only hope is in God.

Tuesday, 11. Till a late hour last night sleep did not come to my eyes or quiet to my throbbing breast. At length He who hushed to rest the raging billows calmed my troubled mind and I fell asleep. This morning my views in respect to the danger of our present situation are much the same as yesterday but my feelings are greatly changed. If I have not been deceived it was in obedience to the Divine command and following the leadings of Divine Providence that I with my family came here, and have remained till the present time. And as there seems to be no possible way of escape without increasing the danger we can only make use of such means as are at hand for protection, and then leave the result with Him "in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways." I have confidence to believe that we shall somehow be carried safely through the present excitement. This storm will most likely pass over in a short time, but how soon another may arise we can not tell.

Wednesday, 12. We have at length succeeded in starting an express to Walla Walla. To effect this it was necessary to send two and promise to give to each extra pay.

In accordance with a suggestion of the chief I have put up 3 strong window shutters and placed 3 horses and a mule under a lock.

Thursday, 20. A little before noon three men from Walla Walla arrived. They are going to Colvile, have a large package of letters among which were several for this place.

Mr. Chief Factor Ogden writes that by giving a large amount of property he has succeeded in recovering all the captives. From the station at Waiilatpu and from among the Indians he recovered 6 men, 8 women, and 37 children. From Clear Water 4 men, 2 women, and 3 children. Mr. Spalding advises us to abandon this station immediately.

In the eve Cornelius was invited for consultation upon the expediency of the women and children of this station going to Colvile to remain until we shall know more of the state of things below. He opposed the proposition with all the force of argument he could bring to bear upon the point. The conclusion is that we remain as we are until additional reasons shall occur requiring a change.

21. Mr. Walker started for Colvile to confer with Mr. Lewes respecting our situation and prospects.

Wednesday, 26. Mr. Walker has this P.M. returned. We are not advised to make any change at present. All our movements will be regulated by the steps the Oregon Government shall take, and that we may not long remain in the dark, Mr. Lewes has directed the gentleman at Walla Walla to forward the first important intelligence, cost what it may.

I shall here close this communication as there will be an opportunity soon to forward it to Walla Walla and most likely to Vancouver. If circumstances allow I shall endeavor to keep you fully informed respecting us.

With much propriety we may say we know not the things that will befall us. I fear the Lord has a controversy with us. I am afraid of His judgments. Late events are full of admonition and warning.

With sentiments of love and esteem, believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your unworthy fellow-laborer,

(Signed) CUSHING EELLS.

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LETTER FROM REV. H. H. SPALDING

FORT VANCOUVER, January 8, 1848.

To Rev. DAVID GREENE,
Sec. A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR SIR:

It has become my painful duty to inform you of a most melancholy providence. I have however but a short time

to write as the express leaves this place to-morrow morning for the States. I can now only state the awful fact leaving the details for a further communication. Our dear brother and sister Whitman have been massacred by their Indians. With them were murdered 12 other persons, viz., Mr. Rogers who has been two years preparing for the ministry with a view to join our mission, John and Francis Sager the two eldest boys of the orphan children, Messrs. Kimball of Indiana, Saunders, Hall, Marsh, Hoffman of Elmyra, N. Y., Gillam, Young, Sails, and Bulee, of the late immigration who had stopped at the station to winter. The three first have left large families.

The massacre took place on the 29th of Nov. Mr. Smith and family were at the saw mill 20 miles distant at the time, also Mr. Young, wife and 3 sons. Next day one of the latter came down to the station for provisions and was killed. The others were sent for 9 days after the horrible deed and their lives preserved to regulate and tend the flour mill. But the women and children to the number of 48, including my eldest daughter, who was at the station at the time, were made slaves by the murderers, and treated in the most cruel and brutal manner. Eight days after the first massacre, Messrs. Sails and Bulee, young men who were sick, were dragged from their beds, butchered and cut to pieces in the most horrible manner in the presence of the women and children and their dead bodies lay near the door for 48 hours rolled in mud and blood, and the captives, and among them was a sister of Bulee, were compelled to pass over them to get their wood and water. No one was allowed to wash and bury them till two Nez Perces arrived. Doct. Whitman had just returned from burying an Indian child, was engaged in reading. An Indian, to divert his attention was in the act of soliciting medicine while another came behind him and with a tomahawk struck him on the back of his head, a second blow on the top of the head laid him lifeless on the floor. Then Tilankait, a principal chief and who has ever received unnumbered favors of the Doct. and who was about to be received into the church, fell upon the dead body and mangled it horribly, cutting the face and head, ripping it open and taking out the heart, etc., etc., and scattering them in the mud. Other bodies were treated in the same brutal, savage manner. The little captive girls were compelled to pass over these mangled

bodies frequently to torment them. They lay 48 hours (*i. e.*, from Monday till Wednesday), scattered about the premises, and none were allowed to gather them up and bury them, even the distracted widows were not allowed to go out and soothe the last moments of their dying husbands, some of whom lingered till late in the agonies of death. Mrs. Whitman fled up stairs where she received a wound in the breast, through the window. Mr. Rogers joined her but they were seduced down by the Indians promising not to kill them, but they were immediately taken to the door and shot. Mrs. Whitman died immediately, but Mr. Rogers lingered a long time. Mr. Osborn who was sick and who with his sick family hid themselves under the floor, heard him as he lay wallowing in the mud and blood frequently say, "Lord Jesus, come quickly," till his voice failed. Mr. Hall fled from the Indians, reached Walla Walla, crossed the Columbia river, proceeded to this place, but he has not yet arrived, and Indian reports say he was killed on his route. Mr. Canfield fled wounded, secreted himself in an upper room till dark, then fled some 8 miles and hid himself in the bushes through Tuesday. During the day he heard several guns and as I was expected to return that day from the Utilla he took it for granted that I had fallen. At night he took the direction of my station and although a stranger, reached it through the interposing hand of God on Saturday and communicated the terrible news, stating that I was probably killed and that my daughter was of course among the captives.

Mrs. Spalding immediately sent an Indian to rescue Eliza if possible. Mr. Osborn and sick family fled that night about 3 miles and hid themselves in the bushes; next night they travelled about 5 miles when Mrs. Osborn gave out. Mr. O. took one child, leaving his wife and 2 children, reached Walla Walla where he obtained horses and a friendly Indian and after wandering and searching long, they reached the fort Friday night, Mrs. O. and the children having had nothing to eat though the whole time. Mr. Stanley, a painter, returning from Tshimakam to Waiilatpu when in about two miles of the bloody scene on Wednesday, was informed by a little girl that all were dead at that place. He escaped to Walla Walla. A Nez Perces who was present and witnessed the horrible scene left on Friday and reached Clear Water on Sunday and gave the intelligence that I had

escaped the Indians and had taken the direction of the Willamette. My safe arrival through the interposing hand of God, however, on Monday night removed the dreadful suspense from the mind of Mrs. S. The account of my own escape is too long for this letter, and almost every word speaks of the interposing hand of God in a most wonderful manner. I was at the Utilla, 20 miles west of Waiilatpu, at the time of the massacre and remained there visiting the sick and preaching to the Indians till Wednesday morn, and then left for the station. When in about 3 miles I met a Catholic priest, his interpreter, and a Kayuse. After some conversation had together, the Indian wheeled and with great speed proceeded back toward the house, when the priest informed me what had taken place. He informed me that he had arrived there the night before, that he had that morning baptized the children of the murderers while the hands of their parents were yet wet with the warm blood of their devoted Protestant teachers, after which he had assisted two friendly Indians in burying the slain. He said 10 men and Mrs. Whitman had been killed, that a Frenchman in the employ of the Doct. had been spared as also the women and children, that no Frenchman or H. B. Co. men should be harmed but only Americans. This he received from the Chief. I requested him to take charge of my pack horse, took some provision which he had prepared for the night, and gave myself into the hands of God and my horse to the plains. In the mean time the Indian returned back to reload his pistol and wait for me to come along. He had started with the priest with a view to kill me, but stopping to smoke he had accidentally discharged his pistol in lighting his pipe and had neglected to reload. After waiting a while he wheeled again on his track and pursued the priest who had providentially made great speed and reached some 10 miles before the Indian overtook him. Not finding me here nor learning from the interpreter what direction I took he returned again to point of waiting and took my track, but darkness soon coming on he was stopped for the night. Suffice to say the Lord delivered me from my pursuer. I traveled nights, lay concealed days, second night horse left me. I had now 90 miles to walk without food, must leave everything even my boots as they were small. But praised be the name of God the 4th night I reached home without great suffering.

A dispatch was sent immediately from Walla Walla to this place. Mr. Ogden with two boats and a great amount of property proceeded with all haste to Walla Walla, sent an order for myself and family and the Americans at my place to join him without delay and a request to the Nez Perces to deliver me up with the promise of property. In 48 hours we were under way with considerable of our property, considerable has been left, considerable plundered by the Indians and some given to appease them. We reached Walla Walla in 4 days escorted by about 40 Nez Perces to protect us from the Kayuse who required a large amount of property which was furnished at the fort. Here we found the captives from Waiilatpu rescued by the very prompt and judicious efforts of Mr. Ogden. He paid 50 blankets to the Kayuse for the captives with a large amount of other property. To the Nez Perces he paid 12 blankets with other property. My party swelled the number of the rescued to 60 and the next day we were in 3 boats and on our way to this place. God gave us the very best of weather for the season and we reached here to-day. On the 10th we proceed to Oregon City where Mr. Ogden will deliver us to the Governor. Too much praise cannot be awarded to the H. B. Co. and especially to Mr. Ogden for his prompt, timely, judicious and Christian efforts in our behalf. We owe it under kind heaven to the efforts of Messrs. Ogden and Douglas that we are alive and at this place to-day. May the God of heaven abundantly reward them. The property at Waiilatpu has all been plundered and the buildings demolished. 400 troop have already collected and are on their way to take possession of the Kayuse country and to punish the guilty. Messrs. Eells and Walker have been advised to go to Colvile. God in mercy direct us. Yours in haste and affliction,

(Signed) H. H. Spalding.

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LETTER FROM REV. H. H. SPALDING

Oregon City, January 24, 1848.

To Rev. David Greene,
Sec. of A. B. C. F. M.

My Dear Sir:

It has become my painful duty to communicate to you the intelligence of the horrible massacre of our dear brother

and sister, Doct. and Mrs. Whitman and of 12 other Americans residing at the station. The massacre took place on 29 Nov. attended by the most savage and beastly brutalities. The victims, especially our dear br. and sist. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, and Francis were supposed to linger from 1½ P.M. till late in the night, the sport of their savage passions. They were cut, torn, shot, dragged from the house, rolled in the mud, stripped, their dying groans returned by blows with the whip, by yells of laughter. They attempted to ride their horses over them, and finally left them yet alive (at least two of them) to struggle and tearing the earth in their dying agonies. In the morn they were all dead. But the bodies of the slain were not allowed to be gathered up and buried till 48 hours after, and then they were thrown into a common pit without coffins and covered so slightly, the body of Mrs. Whitman was dug up by the wolves and partly devoured. It was replaced by some friendly Indians but slightly covered and I fear her bones are now scattered upon the plains, but her spirit I trust is at rest in the bosom of her Saviour. The women and children were made captives and continued victims of their brutal passions and savage cruelty till 1st Jan. when they were all rescued by Mr. Ogden and we met at Walla Walla a deeply afflicted company, thankful, however, that so many of us escaped the massacre.

The persons massacred were Doct. Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, members of our mission. John Sager, Francis Sager, the two eldest of the orphan family of seven whom you will recollect were brought fatherless and motherless to Doct. Whitman (both parents having died on the route) by the immigration of 1844, and were by him adopted as his own children; Mr. Kimble of Indiana, leaving a widow and 5 children, the eldest 16, the youngest 1; Mr. Saunders of Oskaloosa, Iowa, leaving a widow and 5 children, the eldest 14 and the youngest 2; Mr. Hall, leaving a widow and 5 children, the eldest 10, the youngest 1; Mr. Hoffman of Elmira, N. Y., Mr. Marsh, Mr. Young, Mr. Gillam of Oskaloosa, Mr. Sails of same place, Mr. Bewley. The two latter were spared at first, on account of being sick. Nine days after they were dragged from their sick beds, beaten, mangled, murdered in the most brutal manner and in the presence of the captive women and children, their bodies thrown by the door, rolled

in blood and mud, over which the captives were compelled to pass for wood and water, for 48 hours, when they were thrown into a pit as the others. Mr. Hall escaped and fled to Walla Walla, was refused admittance, as believed by all Americans, judging from the fact that Mr. Osborn with his sick family was refused admittance two days after, Mr. McBean being a bigoted papist. Mr. H. was furnished a blanket, crossed over the Columbia R. and started on foot for Willamette. Indian report says he was murdered by the De Sheut Indians who have since united with the Kayuse. He has not reached this country.

Mr. Osborn and sick family concealed themselves under the floor till late in the night hearing the dying groans of sister Whitman and Mr. Rogers lying near the door. They then traveled some 4 miles when Mrs. O's strength failed. She had been sick with measles and childbirth and had not yet walked a step. They concealed themselves in the bushes till next night when they proceeded as much further. Mr. O. here left his sick family with no food, one quilt, took one child and reached the Fort same night. Mr. McBean kept him concealed till Thursday night when he sent him away with Mr. Stanley's horses and an Indian for his family but ordered him not to return to the Fort as he would not afford him protection or provisions as he feared it might endanger his post. They searched all night for the miserable family, and Mr. O. gave over about light, but the Indian (a Walla Walla) persevered and found them about the rising of the sun, and wonderful to tell they were yet alive. They proceeded as directed to the Utilla to the Catholic Bishop, but the strength of Mrs. O. failing, they turned to the Fort, where they were finally admitted. Mr. Canfield escaped wounded and hid himself till night in the upper loft of the large building where 4 families were living. At night he took a buffalo robe and a little provision and started for my station, and although a stranger to the route, reached my house on Saturday eve, and communicated the astounding intelligence to Mrs. Spalding aggravated by the probability that her husband was numbered with the slain and the fact that her daughter Eliza was among the captives, having accompanied me to Waiilatpu the week before. Mrs. S. dispatched two Nez Perces immediately to rescue her daughter and to learn if possible whether I had escaped. I may here say that the

Kayuse would not give up Eliza, and threatened if the two Nez Perces attempted to take her away they would follow and kill her.

The day after the arrival of Mr. Canfield at Clear Water a Nez Perces arrived with the intelligence that I had escaped the Kayuse on a swift horse and had probably fled to the Willamette. On Monday a large number of Nez Perces collected at my station with a view to plunder it and strip Mrs. Spalding and her children and leave them to perish on the plains or make them slaves. Most of these plunderers were from the camp of Joseph, who, you will recollect, was one of the two first natives received into our church, and who up to this event has sustained a good Christian character. One of the number was his own brother-in-law and from his lodge. But the great majority of the Nez Perces showed themselves friendly, protected the house from plunder to a great extent, assisted in removing Mrs. Spalding to Mr. Craig's 10 miles up the valley, and one of the chiefs guarded the house till we left with much of our movable property. Considerable, however, was plundered, more was forced in the way of payment or gifts, and all the heavy articles we were obliged to leave for want of time and means to convey them to Fort Walla Walla.

Two families were living at the sawmill 20 miles distant from the station Waiilatpu at the time of the massacre. They continued there for 9 days, when the Indians sent for them to start again the flour mill and grind their grain. They spared the men and delivered them to Mr. Ogden with the other captives. Mr. Stanley, artist, from Ontario Co., N. Y., returning from the station of Messrs. Walker and Eells to Waiilatpu and when within some two miles of the station on Wednesday was informed by two Indian children by signs that Doct. Whitman and others had been killed. He fled immediately for Walla Walla, was met by a Kayuse, who, drawing his pistol, inquired if he was a "Boston man." Mr. S. replied, "No." "Are you then an 'Alain,'" the opposite of American? He replied "Yes," not knowing exactly what the word meant. This saved his life. That night he lay in the bushes of the Tusha, by which place I passed the latter part of the same night. Next day he reached the Fort, as above stated.

Pages might be filled with facts concerning the horrible

manner in which the victims were treated while the savages were putting them to death. The bodies of some were ripped open and the heart and bowels taken out. The surviving children of the Doct.'s family were assembled to be shot in the room where the Doct. and John lay horribly cut to pieces, but yet breathing. The Indians with their guns in their hands stood thick around them waiting the dreadful order. My daughter was among them and understood every word. Who can measure the sufferings of these innocent lambs ? Finally the word was given to spare them; at the same time they commenced firing upon Mr. Rogers and Mrs. Whitman who had some time before received a mortal wound in the heart. I might speak of the cruel treatment received by the captives, the sufferings of the sick children, 3 of whom died. The young women were dragged out by night, beaten, and basely treated. Three of them were made wives by the savages. And heart sickening to relate, one by Hezekiah, the principal Kayuse chief, and one often mentioned in my letters as one of our most diligent scholars, 3 winters in our school at Clear Water, and a member of our church. Immediately after the massacre the house was plundered of its property, the furniture destroyed, the woodwork demolished. The great amount of property you sent last year had been brought up a few weeks before, was yet undivided, and was lost, *i. e.*, plundered by the Indians. The cattle, horses, and sheep have been taken. Whether the troops will recover any of them or not remains yet to be learned.

At the time of the massacre, which was on Monday, I was at the Utilla 20 miles west of Waiilatpu, remained there till Wednesday morning when I started for Waiilatpu, and was within 2 miles of the station when I met a Catholic priest, his interpreter, and a Kayuse Indian. This Indian had accompanied the priest with a view to shoot me on meeting me, as they expected me that day. Providentially he had stopped to smoke, and in lighting his pipe had accidentally discharged his pistol. The hand of the Lord prevented him from reloading and in this situation he met me. He wheeled to reload in a secret place and wait for me to come up. In the meantime the priest informed me of the massacre, and said that the Indian had accompanied him for the purpose of killing me, and that he feared for

me. He said he camped at the Indian village 1 mile from the station the night before, had baptised the children of the murderers that morning, after which he went to the house to see the women and children and to assist in burying the dead. He said that my daughter was alive, that the chief has assured him that the women and children should not be killed, that all Frenchmen, Hudson Bay men, and Catholics should not be hurt; that only Protestants or Americans should be destroyed. I asked him to take charge of my 3 horses, one packed, and I also asked him to look after my daughter and the women and children. He furnished me a little food, and I wheeled upon the plains.

In the meantime the Indian waited for me to come along. At length he mounted and pursued after the priest, thinking I had returned with him; but not finding me with him he was obliged to return to the place of our meeting before he could take my track, which he followed, but the thick darkness of night came on before he overtook me. I fled all night, changing my course from the Willamette to the Nez Perces country and my own home. I crossed the Walla Walla River, kept the high grass, where the next day the Indian lost my trail, followed the Tusha in its windings till light, and then lay by next day. Next night I continued up the Tusha, struck the trail for Walla Walla to my place, slept a few moments, and proceeded. Soon after I heard the tramp of horses coming direct in the trail of the station of Messrs. Walker and Eells to Waiilatpu. This, I thought, is no other than a band of Kayuse Indians returning from the murder of the brethren. Doubtless all are cut off at my station also, and I am alone in the Indian country. I wheeled my horse from the trail, lay flat, and seized him by the nose to prevent him from calling out to the passing horses. Darkness prevented them from seeing me. What that band was I know not. It is certain they had not been to the station of Messrs. Walker and Eells.

About light I stopped to bait my horse, when he escaped, leaving me to perform the rest of the journey, 90 miles, on foot, without food. I was also obliged to leave my blankets and even my boots, as they were too small for traveling. I have not time to give the interesting events of the remaining part of the route. Suffice it to say that lying by days, on Monday night the 6th of my flight, I entered an Indian

lodge near my house, which had been vacated that day by Mrs. Spalding, and the news went to her that I had arrived. The Nez Perces received me kindly and treated us with friendship while we remained. They said they would protect us from the Kayuse if we would protect them from harm from the Americans. This we agreed to do if they would keep their hands clean from blood and plunder. There were with us my brother-in-law and Messrs. Craig, Jackson, and Canfield, and two Frenchmen. We built a log building to protect ourselves, not knowing when we could leave the country, as it was plain that we should not be able to depart unless by the interposition of the H. B. Co. In fact it was certain that should the Kayuse Indians learn that the Americans were coming up to avenge the death of the slain, they would immediately fall upon the captives at Waiilatpu, 52 in all, and cut them off, and would also be likely to make an attack upon the stations of Clear Water and Tshimakain. Mr. McBean of Walla Walla sent an express immediately to Vancouver, but neglected to inform Mr. Hinman at the Dalls, although in the letter to Mr. Douglas, after stating the number slain he says, "3 parties are fitting out, one to the mills, one to Mr. Spalding, and one to the Dalls to cut all off." Mr. Hinman had occasion to accompany the express to Vancouver, and you may imagine his feelings on hearing the letter read. Very likely his family and those with him were already cut off or would be before he could return and prepare to meet the enemy. There is no excuse for Mr. McBean.

Mr. Ogden with 16 men, 2 boats, and considerable property proceeded immediately to Walla Walla, arriving Dec. 19. By his great prudence and prompt efforts and by paying 52 blankets, 52 shirts, several guns, considerable ammunition, and other property he succeeded in obtaining all the captives who were brought into the Fort, 29. In the meantime he sent an order to the Nez Perces Indians to deliver me up and those with me. They finally consented on condition that we would return when it should become safe to live in the country, and 48 hours after receiving the order we were on our way to Walla Walla, escorted by 40 Nez Perces as a guard through the Kayuse country. We suffered much from cold, but made the journey in 4 days, arriving Jan. 1st. Found our dear daughter too weak to meet us at the door from hard usage in her captivity.

Thank God she has recovered. 2 Jan. we left Walla Walla in 3 boats, making a quick passage to Vancouver, arriving on the 8th, the Lord commanding the wind and the weather concerning us. Our arrival at this city on the 12 Jan. was greeted by 3 guns and a hearty welcome of the citizens, who mingle freely their tears of grief with ours at the terrible calamity which has befallen the country, as also their tears of joy that so many, by the interposing hand of Providence, escaped the bloody massacre. We were formally delivered to the Governor by Mr. Ogden, who cannot be awarded too much praise by us who owe our immediate deliverance and perhaps our lives to him under God, by the citizens of Oregon, by the A. B. C. F. M., and by the citizens of the U. S., for his very philanthropic, prompt, and judicious effort in rescuing so many of his fellow beings from Indian captivity and perhaps from a terrible death. In comparison with this last reflection I am happy in the confidence that no earthly treasure or human praise could have any weight in his benevolent mind.

The benevolence of the city soon found places for the widows and afflicted families. The Governor and his family offered us the hospitalities of their home, where we remained for a few days. We are now in our own hired house, expecting to leave in two weeks for Tualatin Plains, to engage in an orphan school for the winter. We know not what is before us. Messrs. Walker and Eells were informed of the massacre and advised to remove to Colvile without delay. 300 volunteers have already reached the Dalls under Gen. Gillian of the Florida war, to punish the perpetrators of this horrid deed and also to defend the country. But we have evidently a growing enemy to meet, as the Walla Wallas and the tribes north are uniting and concentrating upon these settlements. May the Lord spare this infant colony from universal massacre, but the clouds are gathering fast. We have men, but are in want of funds and munitions of war. For this end the Governor wishes to dispatch a messenger to California forthwith to solicit of Commodore Shubrick two or three vessels of war to be sent immediately to our relief, but he needs the means. I feel it to be my duty to supply them, and have therefore offered $500 to be paid on Vancouver on the return of the messenger, and to come into the Bill of next year. In doing it I throw myself upon the patriot-

ism of those churches who contribute to the funds of our Board. I know they will immediately call to mind the tears and blood which early Indian atrocities caused to flow profusely, in the midst of which they laid the foundations of those institutions, civil and religious, of which we are justly proud as American citizens and American Christians, and with the fall of which all must fall that we hold dearer than life, but which I am constrained to say are considered by the candid particularly aimed at in this Indian war.

I am obliged to close and wait a further communication to give further particulars, as also the causes remote and immediate which led to the horrid massacre.

May the God of peace throw around us his arms of protection.

Yours in Christian love,
(Signed) H. H. Spalding.

II

LETTER FROM REV. CUSHING EELLS GIVING ADDRESSES AT CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS —ALSO A LETTER FROM CHIEF FACTOR OGDEN

Tshimakain, near Fort Colvile,
Oregon Mission, January 29, 1848.

Rev. David Greene,
Secretary A. B. C. F. M.,
Dear Sir:—

I suppose that any information relative to the late melancholy transactions at Waiilatpu will be acceptable, therefore I will forward the following copy.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) Cushing Eells.

MR. CHIEF FACTOR OGDEN'S ADDRESS TO THE MOST INFLUENTIAL CHIEFS IN BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN FAMILIES KEPT AS HOSTAGES AND PRISONERS BY THEM

"I regret that all the Chiefs I asked for are not present, two being absent. I expect the words I am about addressing you will be reported to them and your young men, on your return to your camps.

" It is now thirty years since we have been among you. During this long period we have never had any instance of blood being spilt until the inhuman massacre which has so recently taken place.

" We are traders and a different nation from the Americans. But recollect we supply you with ammunition, not to kill the Americans. They are of the same color as ourselves, speak the same language, children of the same God, and humanity makes our hearts bleed when we behold you using them so cruelly. Besides this revolting butchery, have not the Indians pillaged, ill-treated, and insulted their women when peaceably making their way to the Willamette ? As Chiefs, ought you to have connived at such conduct on the part of your young men ? Was it not rather your duty to use your influence to prevent it ? You tell me the young men committed these deeds without your knowledge. Why do we make you chiefs if you have no control over your young men ? If you allow them to govern you, you are a set of Hermaphrodites and unworthy of the appellation of men or Chiefs. You young, hot-headed men, I know you pride yourselves upon your bravery and think no one can match you. Do not deceive yourselves. If you get the Americans to commence once, you will repent it, and war will not end until every one of you is cut off from the face of the earth. I am aware that a good many of your friends and relatives have died through sickness. The Indians of other places have shared the same fate. It is not Dr. Whitman that has poisoned them, but God has commanded that they should die. We are weak mortals and must submit. I trust you will avail yourselves of the opportunity by doing so. It may prove advantageous to you, but at the same time remember you alone will be responsible for the consequences. It is merely advice I give you. We have nothing to do with it. I have not come here to make you promises or hold out assistance. We have nothing to do with your quarrels. We remain neutral. On my return, if you wish it, I shall do all I can for you, but I do not promise you to prevent war. If you deliver me up all the prisoners I shall pay you for them on their being delivered, but let it not be said among you afterwards that I deceived you.

" I and Mr. Douglas represent the Company, but I tell you once more we promise you nothing. We sympathize

with these poor people and wish to return them to their friends and relatives by paying you for them. My request in behalf of the families concerns you, so decide for yourselves."

THE YOUNG CHIEF'S (TAWATUE) REPLY

"I arise! to thank you for your words. You white Chiefs command obedience with those that have to do with you. It is not so with us. Our young men are strong-headed and foolish. Formerly we had experienced good Chiefs. These are laid in the dust. The descendants of my father were the only good Chiefs. Though we made war with other tribes yet we always looked, and ever will look, upon the whites as our brothers. Our blood is mixed with yours. My heart bleeds for the death of so many good Chiefs I have known. For the demand made by you, the old Chief Toloquwet is here, speak to him. As regards myself, I am willing to give up the families."

TOLOQUWET'S REPLY

"I have listened to your words. Young men do not forget them. As for war we have seen little of it. But our fathers have seen something of it. We know the whites to be our best friends, who have all along prevented us from killing each other. That is the reason why we avoid getting into a war with them, and why we do not wish to be separated from them. Besides the tie of blood, the whites have shown us convincing proof of their attachment to us by burying their dead long side of ours. Chief, your words are weighty. Your hairs are gray. We have known you a long time. You have had an unpleasant trip to this place. I cannot therefore keep these families back. I make them over to you, which I would not do to another younger than yourself."

SERPENT JAMES'S REPLY

"I have nothing to say. I know the Americans to be changeable. Still I am of opinion as the young Chief. The whites are our friends. We follow your advice. I consent to you taking the families."

Mr. Ogden here addressed two Nez Perces Chiefs in behalf of Rev. Mr. Spalding and party, that they should be delivered to him on being paid, and spoke to them at length. The result was that both Chiefs (James and Itimimlpelp) promised to bring them provided they were willing to come, and immediately started to effect the same, having a letter from C. F. Ogden to Mr. Spalding.

List of the names of the captives from the Waiilatpu station:

Mission children.—Miss Mary A. Bridger; Miss Catherine Sager, 19 years; Miss Elizabeth Sager, 10 years; Miss Matilda I. Sager, 8 years; Miss Henrietta N. Sager, 4 years; Miss Eliza Spalding, 10 years.

Du Page Co., Illinois.—Mr. Joseph Smith; Mrs. Hannah Smith; Miss Mary Smith, 15 years; Mr. Edwin Smith, 19 years; Mr. Charles Smith, 11 years; Mr. Nelson Smith, 6 years; Mr. Mortimer Smith, 4 years.

Ralls Co., Missouri.—Mrs. Rebecca Hays; Mr. H. Clay Hays, 4 years.

Iowa.—Mrs. Mary Sanders; Miss Helen M. Sanders, 14 years; Miss Phœbe L. Sanders, 10 years; Mr. Alfred W. Sanders, 6 years; Miss Nancy I. Sanders, 4 years; Miss Mary A. Sanders, 2 years.

Fulton Co., Illinois.—Mrs. Eliza Hall; Miss G. Jane Hall, 10 years; Miss Mary C. Hall, 8 years; Miss Ann E. Hall, 6 years; Miss Rebecca Hall, 3 years; Miss Rachel Hall, 1 year.

La Porte, Indiana.—Mrs. Harriet Kimball; Miss Susan M. Kimball, 16 years; Mr. Nathan M. Kimball, 12 years; Mr. Byrom M. Kimball, 8 years; Miss Sarah S. Kimball, 6 years; Miss Mirce A. Kimball, 1 year.

Osage Co., Missouri.—Mr. Elam Young; Mrs. Irene Young; Mr. Daniel Young, 21 years; Mr. John Young, 19 years.

Iowa.—Mrs. Sally A. Canfield; Miss Ellen Canfield, 16 years; Mr. Ascar Canfield, 9 years; Miss Clarissa Canfield, 7 years; Miss Sylvia A. Canfield, 5 years; Mr. Albert Canfield, 3 years.

Mr. Joseph Stanfield.

Henderson Co., Illinois.—Mr. Joseph Osborn; Mrs. Margaret Osborn; Miss Nancy A. Osborn, 9 years; Mr. John L., Osborn, 3 years; Mr. Alexander A. Osborn, 2 years.

Miss Nancy E. Marsh.

Miss Lorinda Bewley.

Mission children deceased since the massacre:

Miss Hannah L. Sager, Miss Helen M. Meek.

Names of persons killed at the Waiilatpu station:

Dr. Whitman, Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, Mr. Andrew Rodgers, John Sager, Francis Sager, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Kimball, Mr. Gillam, Mr. Bewley, Mr. Young, Jr., Mr. Sails.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM P. S. OGDEN, ESQ., TO REV. E. WALKER, DATED WALLA WALLA, DEC. 31, 1847

Dear Sir:

Mr. Stanley has promised to give you a recital of the melancholy massacre of the worthy Dr. and his wife and nearly all the inmates of the mission. On receiving this account at Vancouver, and that many unfortunate individuals were still surviving, the following day I started with 16 men and reached this on the 12th inst. Since that period have been employed in securing the captives, and have succeeded in obtaining all that were taken prisoners, and shall take my departure to-morrow for Vancouver. In effecting this humane object I have endured many an anxious hour and for the last two nights have not closed my eyes. But, thanks to the Almighty, I have succeeded. During the captivity of the prisoners they have suffered every indignity, but fortunately were well provided with food. I have been enabled to effect my object without compromising myself or others, and it now remains with the American Government to take what measures they deem most beneficial to restore tranquillity to this part of

the country. This I apprehend cannot be finally effected without blood being made to flow freely. So as not to compromise either party I have made a heavy sacrifice in goods, but these are indeed of trifling value compared to the unfortunate beings I have rescued from these murderous wretches, and I feel truly happy.

On my arrival at the Dalls I was consulted by Mr. Hinman on the propriety of his staying or removing from that place. I advised him to remove, leaving a trusty Indian in charge. I think this arrangement will meet with your approbation. Under existing circumstances I could not certainly give any other advice.

Yours truly,

(Signed) P. S. Ogden.

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VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE MASSACRE RECEIVED VIA HONOLULU. COPIED FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD AT BOSTON

OREGON

Horrible Massacre by the Indians.—We received by the bark *Fanet* from Columbia River a file of the *Oregon Spectator* to Dec. 9th, which contains the particulars of an attack on the Mission Station of Waiilatpu by the Cayuse Indians. The following letters contain all the particulars which have yet come to hand respecting this melancholy affair.

Honolulu, February 2, 1848.

C. E. Hitchcock, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—Enclosed I hand you a letter from James Douglass, Esq., chief factor of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Co. at Fort Vancouver, detailing the tragical occurrence which has recently taken place at the mission station at Waiilatpu, in which Dr. M. Whitman, missionary, and wife, and nine others were massacred by the Cayuse Indians. By the same conveyance we received a letter from Dr. Whitman informing us of the intention of the mission

to erect a schoolhouse at his station for the children of the mission, a meeting-house for the Indians, and to aid also the Indians in erecting some permanent storehouses, and requesting of us some supplies for that purpose; thus showing that to the last he was devising some means for the benefit of those by whose hands he fell.

We feel under high obligations to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Co.'s officers for the promptitude with which they dispatched a force for the protection and aid of the Rev. Mr. Spalding and family (as well as for frequent kindnesses extended by them to our missionaries in Oregon), but when we take into consideration that the time necessary to convey the intelligence to Fort Vancouver must have been more than amply sufficient for the Indians to have reached the station of the Rev. Mr. Spalding and executed any purposes of death or injury which they might have conceived against that gentleman or his family, I need not say that we shall wait with anxious solicitude for further intelligence from that quarter. May the Lord in mercy avert any further calamity as we have reason to apprehend, and bring good out of the melancholy occurrence which He has permitted to take place.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) S. N. Castle.

Fort Vancouver, December 9, 1847.

S. N. Castle, Esq.:

Sir,—It is with feeling indescribably painful that I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of the Board of Missions, intelligence of a disastrous event which lately occurred at the missionary station at Waiilatpu. Our estimable friend, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, and nine other men and youths in the mission employ, were murdered on the 29th ult. by the Cayuse Indians, with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. The lives of the women and children, with the exception of the lamented lady already named, were spared. The mission being situated in the Cayuse country, they had a peculiar interest in protecting it from harm, in gratitude for past favors and for the blessings of religious instruction so assiduously dispensed to them and to their families; yet those very people, the objects of so much solicitude, were

alone concerned in effecting the destruction of an establishment founded solely for their benefit. The Cayuse are the most treacherous and untractable of all the Indian tribes in this country, and had on many former occasions alarmed the inmates of the mission by their tumultuous proceedings and ferocious threats; but unfortunately these evidences of a brutal disposition were disregarded by the admirable pastor, and served only to arm him with a firmer resolution to do them good. He hoped that time and instruction would produce a change of mind—a better state of feeling towards the mission; and he might have lived to see his hopes realized had not the measles and dysentery, following in the train of immigrants from the United States, made frightful ravages this year in the upper country, many Indians having been carried off through the violence of the disease and others through their own imprudence.

The Cayuse Indians of Waiilatpu, being sufferers in this general calamity, were incensed against Dr. Whitman for not exerting his supposed supernatural powers in saving their lives. They carried this absurdity beyond that point of folly. Their superstitious minds became possessed with the horrible suspicion that he was giving poison to the sick, instead of wholesome medicines, with the view of working the destruction of the tribe, their former cruelty probably adding strength to this suspicion. Still some of the more reflecting had confidence in Dr. Whitman's integrity, and it was agreed to test the effects of the medicines he had furnished on three of their people, one of whom was said to be in perfect health. They unfortunately died, and from that moment it was resolved to destroy the mission. It was immediately after burying the remains of these three persons that they repaired to the mission and murdered every man found there.

This happened about two o'clock in the afternoon; the Indians arrived at the mission one after another with their arms hid under their blankets. The doctor was at school with the children, the others were cutting up an ox they had just killed. When the Indians saw they were numerous enough to effect their object, they fell upon the poor victims, some with guns and others with hatchets, and their blood was soon streaming on all sides. Some of the Indians turned their attention toward the doctor; he received a pistol shot in the breast from one, and a blow on the head

with a hatchet from another. He had still strength enough remaining to reach a sofa, where he threw himself down and expired. Mrs. Whitman was dragged from the garret, and mercilessly butchered at the door. Mr. Rogers was shot after his life had been granted to him; the women and children were also going to be murdered, when a voice was raised to ask for mercy in favor of those whom they thought innocent, and their lives were spared. It is reported that a kind of deposition made by a Mr. Rogers increased the fury of this savage mob. Mr. Rogers was seized, was made to sit down, and then told that his life would be spared if he made a full discovery of Dr. Whitman's treachery. That person then told the Indians that the doctor intended to poison them, that one night, when Mr. Spalding was at Waiilatpu, he heard them say that the Indians ought to be poisoned, in order that the Americans might take possession of their lands—that the doctor wished to poison them all at once, but that Mr. Spalding advised him to do it gradually. Mr. Rogers after this deposition was spared, but an Indian, who was not present, having seen him, fired at and killed him. An American made a similar deposition, adding that Mrs. Whitman was an accomplice, and that she deserved death as well as her husband. It appears that he concluded by saying that he would take the side of the Indians, and that he detested the Americans. An Indian then put a pistol into his hand, and said to him, "If you tell the truth you must prove it by shooting that young American"; and this wretched apostate from his country fired upon the young man shown him, and laid him dead at his feet. It was upon the evidence of that American that Mrs. Whitman was murdered, or she might have shared in the mercy extended to the other females and children.

Such are the details, as far as known, of that disastrous event, and the causes which led to it. Mr. Rogers's reported deposition, if correct, is unworthy of belief, having been drawn from him by the fear of instant death. The other American who shed the blood of his own friend must be a villain of the darkest dye, and ought to suffer for his aggravated crime.

On the 7th inst. Mr. Ogden proceeded towards Walla Walla with a strong party of the Hudson Bay Company's servants to endeavor to prevent further evil.

Accompanying you will receive a copy of a letter which I addressed to Governor Abernethy immediately after the arrival of the melancholy intelligence at this place.

All that can be collected will be considered important by the friends of doctor and Mrs. Whitman in the United States, who will be anxious to learn every particular concerning their tragic fate. It will be a satisfaction for them to know that these eminent servants of God were faithful in their lives, though we have to deplore the melancholy circumstances which accompanied their departure from this world of trial.

I remain, Sir,
Your very ob't servant,
(Signed) JAMES DOUGLAS.

VANCOUVER, December 7, 1847.

GEORGE ABERNETHY, Esq.:

SIR,—

Having received intelligence last night, by special express, from Walla Walla of the destruction of the missionary settlement at Waiilatpu by the Cayuse Indians of that place, we hasten to communicate the particulars of that dreadful event—one of the most atrocious which darkens the annals of Indian crime.

Our lamented friends, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, with nine other persons, have fallen victims to the fury of these remorseless savages, who appear to have been instigated to this inhuman deed by a horrible suspicion which had taken possession of their superstitious minds, in consequence of the number of deaths from dysentery and measles — that Dr. Whitman was silently working the destruction of their tribe by administering poisonous drugs under the semblance of salutary medicines.

With a goodness of heart and benevolence truly his own, Dr. Whitman had been laboring incessantly, since the appearance of the dysentery and measles among his Indian converts, to relieve their suffering, and such has been the reward of his generous labors.

A copy of Mr. McBean's letter, herewith, will give you all the particulars known to us of this indescribably painful event.

Mr. Ogden, with a strong party, will leave this place as

soon as possible for Walla Walla, to endeavor to prevent further evil; and we beg to suggest to you the propriety of taking instant measures for the protection of the Rev. Mr. Spalding, who, for the sake of his family, ought to abandon the Clear Water Mission without delay, and retire to a place of safety, as he cannot remain at that isolated station without running imminent risk in the present excited and irritable state of the Indian population.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) JAMES DOUGLAS.

We omit the letter of Mr. McBean referred to in the preceding letter, as also one from Mr. Hinman, both of which contain essentially the same. The following is a list of the killed: Mr. and Mrs. Dr. Whitman, Rogers, Hoffman, Sanders, Osborne, Marsh, Canfield, F. and J. Sagar, and a sailor, name unknown. Three more were badly wounded.

By a letter dated the 18th of December, it is stated that it was rumored in Oregon that when the massacre was effected, a party of Indians was despatched to the sawmill 12 miles distant to massacre the whites settled there. Another party was despatched to Rev. Mr. Spalding's station, another to the station of Rev. Messrs. Eells and Walker, and another still to Fort Walla Walla belonging to the Hudson's Bay Co. for the same purpose, and that the Hudson's Bay Co. had despatched a large party to Walla Walla for the protection of the forts.

The prompt means taken by the government is worthy of the highest commendation. The House of Representatives was organized and the Governor's message received Dec. 8th. We learn from the *Spectator* that a Special Message respecting the outrages committed by the Indians was received by the House the same afternoon. A bill passed the Legislature the following morning, authorizing the Governor to raise 500 volunteers for the purpose of

chastising the Indians. The Governor started the same day at 10 o'clock for Fort Vancouver in company with commissioners appointed to negotiate a loan for the prosecution of the war, and his proclamation would be issued as soon as he returned. A company of riflemen were organized the same afternoon by the choice of H. A. G. Lee for captain —were presented with an appropriate flag by the ladies of Oregon City—and in two hours after started for Walla Walla amid the firing of cannon and the cheers of the assembled citizens.

C. Lancaster is appointed Supreme Judge of Oregon Territory, vice J. Q. Thornton, resigned. Several small parties of emigrants had arrived, and about 300 wagons are reported at The Dalles, Oct. 28th, whose only chance to reach the settlements was by the river. A subscription had been opened and a Batteau despatched to their assistance.

13

LETTER FROM REV. H. H. SPALDING TO THE PARENTS OF MRS. WHITMAN, FROM THE "GENEVA COURIER," EXTRA, 1848

MASSACRE OF DR. WHITMAN—LETTER FROM OREGON

The following letter has been handed us for publication. It is the latest date from that far distant country, and is couched in the language of sadness, but yet of Christian affection. Our readers will find it interesting. Dr. Whitman was well known in this vicinity.—*Allegany County Advocate.*

OREGON CITY, April 6, 1848.

TO STEPHEN PRENTISS, ESQ., AND MRS. PRENTISS, THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF THE LATE MRS. WHITMAN, OF THE OREGON MISSION:

MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER IN CHRIST:

Through the wonderful interposition of God, in delivering me from the hand of the murderer, it has become my

painful duty to apprize you of the death of your beloved daughter Narcissa, and her worthy and affectionate husband, your honored son-in-law, Doctor Whitman — both my own entirely devoted, ever faithful, and eminently useful associates in the work of Christ. They were inhumanly butchered by their own—up to the last moment—beloved Indians for whom their warm Christian hearts had prayed eleven years, and during that period their unwearied hands had administered to their every want, in sickness and distress, and bestowed upon them unnumbered blessings; who claimed to be, and were considered, in a high state of civilization and Christianity. Some of them were members of our church, others candidates for admission; some of them adherents of the Catholic church, all praying Indians. They were doubtless urged to the dreadful deed by foreign influence, which we have found coming in upon us like a devastating flood for the last three or four years, and we have begged of the authors of our distress, with tears, to desist, not so much on account of our own lives and property, but for the safety of those coming, and of those already in the country.

But they thought none would be injured but the hated missionaries, and the work of hell was urged on, and has ended not only in the death of three devoted missionaries and the ruin of our mission, but in a bloody war with the settlements, which may end in the massacre of every family. God alone can save us.

I must direct you to the *Herald* for my views as to the direct and remote causes which have conspired to bring about the dreadful calamity. I cannot write all to every one; I have a large family to look after.

Mrs. Spalding, suffering from the dreadful exposures during the flight, destitute of almost everything, no dwelling-place, as yet; food and raiment to be found, many afflicted friends to be informed—my own soul bleeding from many wounds—my dear, dear sister Narcissa, with whom I have grown up as a child of the same family—with whom I have labored so long and so intimately in the work of teaching the Indians, and my own beloved Doct. Whitman, with whom I have for so many years kneeled in prayer and taken sweet counsel — have been murdered — their flesh given to the beasts of the field, and their bones scattered upon the plains—the labors and hopes of many years in an

hour at an end—the house of the Lord—the mission house burned, and its walls demolished, property to the amount of thousands of dollars in the hands of robbers, a once large and happy family reduced to a few helpless children, made a second time orphans, to be separated and find homes among strangers, our fears for our dear brothers Walker and Eells of the most alarming character—our infant settlements involved in a bloody war with hostile Indians and on the brink of ruin—all chill my blood and fetter my hand: my letters must be short. The massacre took place on the fatal 29th of Nov. last, commencing at half-past one. Fourteen persons were murdered in all. Nine, the first day. Five men escaped from the station, three in a most wonderful manner, one of whom was the trembling writer, with whom I know you will unite in praising God for delivering even one.

The names and places of the slain are as follows: The two precious names already given, my hand refuses to write them again; Mr. Rogers, a young man, teacher of our mission school in the winter of '46, since then aiding us in mission work, and studying with a view to be ordained and join our mission; John and Francis Sager, the two eldest of the orphan family, ages 17 and 15; Mr. Kimble of La Porte, Indiana, killed second day—left a widow and five children; Mr. Sanders of Oskaloosa, Iowa,—left a widow and five children; Mr. Hall of Missouri, escaped to Fort Walla Walla, was refused protection, put over the Columbia River, and killed by the Walla Wallas,—left a widow and five children; Mr. Marsh of Missouri,—left a son grown and a young daughter; Mr. Hoffman of Elmira, N. Y.; Mr. Gillam of Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. Sails of latter place; Mr. Bewley of Missouri; two last dragged from sick beds eight days after first massacre and butchered; Mr. Young of Missouri killed second day. Last five were unmarried men. Forty women and children fell captives into the hands of the murderers, among them my own beloved daughter, Eliza, ten years old. Three of the captive children soon died—left without parental care—two of them your dear Narcissa's and one of them a widow's. The young women were dragged from the house by night and harshly treated, three of them became wives of the murderers; one, the daughter of Mrs. Kimble, became the wife of him who killed her father, who afterwards told her of it.

One, a Miss Bewley, was taken twenty miles, to the Utilla, and became the wife of Hezekiah, a principal chief and member of our church, who, up till that time, had exhibited a good character.

Eight days after the first murders, two families at the sawmill, 20 miles distant, were brought down, and the men spared to work for the Indians. This increased the number of captives to forty-seven, after the three children died. They were in various ways cruelly treated, compelled to work early and late for the Indians, crowded into one house, and stripped of almost everything. As soon as Mrs. Spalding heard of my probable death, and the captivity of Eliza, she sent two Indians (Nez Perces) to effect her deliverance if possible. The murderers refused to give her up until they knew whether I was alive, as I had escaped their hands, and whether the Americans would come to avenge the death of their countrymen. Should the Americans show themselves, every woman and child should be butchered. The two sick men had just been beaten and cut to pieces before the eyes of the helpless children and women; their blood spilled upon the floor, and their mangled bodies lay at the door for forty-eight hours, over which the captives were compelled to pass. Such had been the situation of Eliza for some days, when the two Nez Perces, particular friends of the children, told her they must go home with her.

The murderers would not give her up. She had believed that her father was dead, but that her mother was alive, and up to this hour hoped to reach her, but now this hope went out. She began to pine. She was the only one left who understood the language, and was called up at all hours of the night, and kept out in the cold and wet, with very little clothing on, to interpret for whites and Indians, until she was no longer able to stand, and her voice failed through weakness.

I had reached home before the Indians returned, and shared, with my wife, the anguish of seeing them return without our child. Had she been dead, we could have given her up, but to have her a captive in the hands of those who had slain our dear friends, and not able to deliver her was the sharpest dagger that ever entered my soul. Suffice it to say, we found our daughter at Fort Walla Walla, with the ransomed captives, too weak to stand, a

mere skeleton, and her mind as much impaired as her health. Through the mercy of God she has regained her health and strength, and her mind has resumed its usual tone. The captives were delivered by the prompt interposition and judicious management of Mr. Ogden, Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, to whom too much praise cannot be awarded. He arrived at Walla Walla the 12th of December. In about two weeks he succeeded in ransoming all the captives, for shirts, blankets, guns, ammunition, and tobacco, to the amount of about five hundred dollars. They were brought into the Fort on the 31st of December. Myself and those with me arrived on the 1st of January. Oh! what a meeting! remnants of large and happy families! But our tears of grief were mingled with those of joy. We had not dared to hope that deliverance would come so soon and complete.

For some time previous to the massacre the measles, followed by the dysentery, had been raging in the country. The families at Waiilatpu had been great sufferers.

I arrived at Waiilatpu the 22d of November, eight days before the dreadful deed. All the Doctor's family had been sick, but were recovering. Three of the children were yet very sick. Besides, Mr. Osborn, with his sick family, were in the same house. Mrs. O. and three children were dangerous, one of them died during the week. A young man, Mr. Bewley, was also very sick. The Doctor's hands were more than full among the Indians, for sometimes five died in a day. My dear sister Whitman seemed ready to sink under the immense weight of labor and care resting upon her, but like an angel of mercy, she continued to administer, with her ever ready hands, to the wants of all. Late and early, night and day, she was by the bed of the sick, the dying, and afflicted.

During the week I enjoyed several precious seasons with her. She was the same devoted servant of the Lord she was when we engaged in like precious seasons in our beloved Prattsburg many years ago, ready to live or die for the Lord Jesus Christ.

Saturday, the Indians from the Utilla sent for the Doctor to visit their sick. He wished me to accompany him. We started late, rode in a heavy rain, through the night, and arrived in the morning. The Doctor attended upon the sick, and returned upon the Sabbath, on account of the

dangerous sickness of his family. I remained until Wednesday. Monday morning the Doctor assisted in burying an Indian, returned to the house, and was reading. Several Indians, as usual, were in the house. One sat down by him to attract his attention by asking for medicine; another came behind him with a tomahawk concealed under his blanket, and with two blows on the back of his head, brought him to the floor, senseless probably but not lifeless. Soon after, Telan-kaiht, a candidate for admission into our church, and who was receiving unnumbered favors every day from brother and sister Whitman, came in, and took particular pains to cut and beat his face, and cut his throat; but he still lingered till near night. As soon as the firing commenced at the different places, Mrs. Hayse ran in and assisted sister Whitman in taking the Doctor from the kitchen to the sitting-room, and placed him on the settee. This was before his face was cut. His dear wife bent over him and mingled her flowing tears with his precious blood. It was all she could do. They were her last tears. To whatever she said, he would reply "No," in a whisper, probably not sensible. John Sager was sitting by the Doctor when he received the first blow, drew his pistol, but his arm was seized — the room filling with Indians, and his head was cut to pieces. He lingered till near night.

Mr. Rogers, attacked at the water, escaped with a broken arm and wound in the head, and rushed into the house and shut the door. The Indians seem to have left the house now, to assist in murdering others. Mr. Kimble, with a broken arm, rushed in, and both secreted themselves upstairs. Sister Whitman, in anguish, now bending over her dying husband, now over the sick, and now comforting the flying, screaming children, was passing by the window when she received the first shot in her right breast, and fell to the floor. She immediately arose, and kneeling at the settee on which lay her bleeding husband, in humble prayer commended her soul to God. She prayed for her dear children who were about to be made a second time orphans and to fall into the hands of her cruel murderers, *and I am certain that she prayed for her murderers too.* She now went into the chamber with Mrs. Hayse, Miss Bewley, Catharine, and the sick children. They remained until near night. In the meantime the door and windows were broken in, the Indians entered, and commenced plundering, but they

feared to go into the chamber. They called for sister Whitman and brother Rogers, and promised they should not be hurt. This promise they often repeated, and they came down.

Your dear Narcissa, faint with the loss of blood, was carried on a settee to the door by brother Rogers and Miss Bewley. Every corner of the room was crowded with Indians having their guns ready to fire. The children had been brought down and huddled together to be shot. Eliza was one. Here they stood for a long time surrounded by guns pointed at their breasts. She often heard the cry, "Shall we shoot!" and her blood became cold, and she fell upon the floor. But now the order was given, "Do not shoot the children." As the settee passed through the children over the bleeding dying body of John — fatal moment—the settee advanced about its length from the door, when the guns were discharged from without and within, the powder actually burning the faces of the children. Brother Rogers raised his hand and cried "My God!" and fell upon his face, pierced with many balls.

But he fell not alone. An equal number of the deadly weapons were leveled at the settee, and O! that the discharge had been deadly. But, Oh Father of Mercy, so it seemed good in Thy sight—she groaned and lingered. The settee was rudely upset. Oh! what have I done! Can the aged mother read and live? Think of Jesus in the hands of the cruel Jews. I thought to have withheld the worst facts, but they would go to you from other sources, and the uncertainty would be worse than the reality. Pardon me if I have erred. Francis, at the same time, was dragged from the children and shot. All three now lay upon the ground, groaning, struggling, dying. As they groaned, the Indians beat them with their whips and clubs and tried to force their horses over them. Darkness dispersed the Indians, but the groans of the dying continued till in the night. Brother Rogers seemed to linger longest. A short time before Mr. Osborn and family left their hiding-place he was heard to say, in a faint voice, "Lord Jesus, come quickly," and all was silent.

The next morning they were seen to be dead by the children, but what a sight for those dear lambs, made a second time fatherless and motherless! And my dear Eliza stood with them, but she covered her face with her

hands. She says she could not bear to look upon her dear Mrs. Whitman, always like a mother to her.

The dead bodies were not allowed to be removed till Wednesday morning, when they were gathered together. Eliza and some girls sewed sheets around them, a large pit was dug by a Frenchman and some friendly Indians, and they were buried together, but so slightly that when the army arrived at the station, they found that the wolves had dug them up and eaten their flesh, and scattered their bones upon the plains. "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled. The bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat to the fowls of the air, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there are none to bury them. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name." Some hair from the sacred head of your dearest daughter was found by the army, I believe, rolled in a piece of paper, doubtless cut and put away with her own hand, some two years ago. A lock was obtained by Dr. Wilcox, late of East Bloomfield, N. Y. With great satisfaction I send it to her deeply afflicted father and mother—precious relic.

At the time of the massacre, Perin Whitman, nephew of Doct. Whitman, was at the falls in the family of Mr. Hinman, who had been employed to occupy the station, lately transferred to our mission by the Methodist mission. On hearing of the bloody tragedy they left the station, and came to the Wallamette. He is here. The little half-breed Spanish boy, by the name of David Malin, was retained at Walla Walla. I fear that he will fall into the hands of the Priests who remain in the country. Catharine, Elizabeth, Matilda, Henrietta, and Mary Ann we brought with us to this place. Mary Ann has since died. For the other four we have obtained good places, and they seem satisfied and happy. Catharine is in the family of the Rev. Mr. Roberts, superintendent of the Methodist mission.

Three Papists, one an Indian formerly from Canada, late from the State of Maine, had been in the employ of the Doctor a few weeks; one a half-breed with a Cayuse wife, and one a Canadian, had been in the employ of the Doctor for more than a year. These seem to have aided in the massacre, and probably secured most of the money, watches, and valuable property. The Canadian came

down with the captives, was arrested, brought before the justice, bound over for trial at the next court, charged with having aided in the murders. The night before he was arrested he secreted in the ground between the boards of a house considerable of Mr. Hoffman's money and watch of one of the widows.

The Canadian Indian, Joe Lewis, shot Francis with his own hand, and was the first to commence breaking the windows and doors. He is now with the hostile Indians. The half-breed, named Finney, was encamped near the station, and in his lodge the murderers held their councils before and during the massacre. He was at the head of the battle near Utilla, and managed, by pretended friendship, to attract the attention of our officers, while his warriors unobserved surrounded our army As soon as they had gained the desired position, he wheeled and fired his gun as a signal for the Indians to commence. Although they had the advantage in the ground, and were far superior in numbers, at the first fire they were completely defeated, driven from the field, and finally from their country, several of them killed and many wounded. The army has taken possession of the country, and expect to fortify at the mission station, Waiilatpu. The Cayuse had removed their families and their stock over the Snake River into the Paluse country, in the direction of brothers Walker and Eells. Our army came upon them at Snake River as they were about to cross. About 1500 head of cattle, with the whole of the Cayuse camp, were completely in their hands. But here our officers were again, for the third or fourth time, outwitted by some Indians riding boldly up to them, and pretending friendship, saying that some of their own cattle were in the herd, and begged time to separate them. Our commandant having received orders not to involve the innocent with the guilty gave them till morning. It is said the men actually wept at this terrible mistake. Next morning, as might be expected, most of the cattle, and nearly all the Cayuse property had been crossed over, and was safe. Our army started away with some 500 head. The Indians, with the pretended friendly ones at their head, fought them all day. At night, being double the number of the whites, the Indians retook their cattle. The whites were obliged to retreat to the station. The Indians continued to fight them through the night and the next day.

The third day the army reached the station. None were killed but several were wounded, one badly. Six of the Indians were killed, and some thirty wounded. The commander and half of the army immediately started for provisions, ammunition, and more men. If the few left are not soon reinforced and supplied, they will be in danger of being cut off and the Indians will be down upon the settlements. The commander was accidently killed on the way down.

The Lord has transferred us from one field of labor to another. Through the kindness of Rev. Mr. Clark, Mr. Smith, and others, we were brought to this place, Tualatine Plains. Mrs. Spalding has a large school, and I am to preach, God assisting, at three stations, through the summer.

Yours in deep affliction,

(Signed) H. H. SPALDING.

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